Correspondence respecting the Abolition of the Legal Status of Slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba.

[In continuation of "Africa No. 2 (1897)."]

No. 1.

Sir L. Mathews to Mr. A. Hardinge.—(Received at the Foreign Office, November 14.)

(Telegraphic.) *Zanzibar, November* 14, 1896.

AFTER talking over your scheme with Sultan, he said: "Tell Hardinge I feel deeply for my subjects as regards the status of their concubines, and after freedom being forced to allow them to quit their homes and become prostitutes; that concubines are practically wives, and mothers of their masters' children, sharing equal rights with children of Arab mothers; that, in allowing concubines to leave their masters, Arab homes will be broken up." Sultan begs you to use all your power to keep Arab homes intact, and save his people from a fate to which death would almost be preferable. He fully understands that abolition must come, and will loyally assist Her Majesty's Government, but wishes his people not to be ruined, and prevent general exodus; he has three children by concubine mother; his closest relations are of mixed blood, himself being the only Prince of pure Arab descent. I strongly urge legal status of concubines be maintained, so that they remain under masters' control instead of leading life of infamy to support themselves, and thereby defiling their masters' and children's religion, customs, and all they hold sacred, which, by Mahommedan law, incurs death.

No. 2.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Mr. Cave.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November* 17, 1896, 2 P.M.

HER Majesty's Government do not understand the apprehensions His Highness appears to be labouring under with regard to concubines, which there is nothing in Mr. Hardinge's draft to raise. Her Majesty's Government desire that Arab homes should be kept intact no less earnestly than the Sultan.

No. 3.

Mr. A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received February 22.)

(Extract.) *Zanzibar, January* 30, 1897.

I HAVE the honour to report that I had a private audience of the Sultan this morning, at which, in the presence of Sir Lloyd Mathews, I informed him that, as he was already aware, I should shortly have to submit to him a scheme for the abolition of the legal status of slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba, and that I felt confident that I might rely on his loyal acceptance and execution of it. I said that I was not yet in a position to give him the details of the proposed scheme as, owing to Mr. Cave's illness, I had had to return to Zanzibar before my final instructions were drafted, but that it was not intended to interfere with Arab family rights, and I explained to him

the difference between the abolition of slavery and of the "legal status" of slavery, illustrating it by the example of Kismayu, where the enforcement of Seyyid Barghash's Decree had in practice produced no disturbing effects. His Highness capped this illustration by observing that out of several hundreds of Seyyid Khalid's slaves, to whom he had offered freedom papers after the bombardment, only four had claimed their freedom, whilst the rest had voluntarily followed their master to German territory, but he added that, though this might happen in the case of household slaves, he feared a considerable exodus of agricultural slaves from the plantations. Whatever the dangers, he was, however, prepared to face them, and hard as was the trial to his people, would cheerfully comply with whatever wish the great Government, which had placed him on the throne of his ancestors, might express, but he hoped that whatever changes were made might be effected as gently and mercifully to the natives as possible. I assured him that there was every wish to deal with the question in this spirit, and that I felt sure that the readiness with which he had responded to the desires of Her Majesty's Government would be greatly appreciated by your Lordship.

No. 4.

Mr. A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 26.)

My Lord, *Zanzibar, April* 2, 1897.

I HAVE the honour to report that I proceeded on the 29th ultimo on my annual inspection of Her Majesty's Vice-Consulate in Pemba, and found everything in satisfactory order. Having thoroughly visited the northern and central districts of the island at the beginning of the past year, I directed my attention on the present occasion to the south, riding from Chaki-Chaki to Fufuni, at the south end of Pemba, viâ Jemaagone, the third town in the island, at which there are about sixty British Indians, and at which we at one time contemplated placing a new Wali, and returning by a more easterly route, which enabled me to see Kingeje, a small settlement containing some sixty British Indians. I should add that at Fufuni, which is a large village, doing a fairly active trade in cloves, the Indians number about thirty.

The general features of life in Pemba are the same in the southern as in the northern and midland districts. The indebtedness of the Arabs, the depopulation of the plantations, and their desertion by the slaves, are, if anything, more aggravated than was the case last year, whilst the partial failure of the last clove crop, and the low prices realized, have in the interval completed the ruin of many native land-owners. One of the best of the Pemba Arabs, Mahomed-bin-Juma, of Mikindani, in the centre of the island, with whom I stayed last year, asserts that thirty-five of his slaves have run away or been kidnapped to Arabia in a single month of this year, and that of a lot of 115 picked slaves, whom he purchased about twelve years ago, only three now remain in his possession; nor, considering the number of fugitive Pemba slaves who are living in our Vanga district, have I any reason to distrust his statement.

Another, Salim-bin-Ali Riami, informed me that the Arabs would gladly pay in produce for free labour if they could get it, but that recent efforts, which some of them, who had lost their slaves, had made to induce the free Wa Pemba to work for them for a share, even amounting to a half of the crop, had been fruitless. Meanwhile, decrees of execution by the Indians, and appeals from their debtors for more time are pouring into the Courts, and one of the principal Indian money-lenders has informed Mr. O'Sullivan that he considers he has now "milked Pemba dry," and will hasten to realize all his outstanding claims, and migrate to Zanzibar to lend money on house property in the city.

Some excitement was caused among the Arabs by the coincidence with my arrival of the message from the Sultan summoning the Walis and the chief Sheikhs of each tribe to Zanzibar; but Mr. O'Sullivan does not anticipate that the publication of the Decree abolishing the status of slavery will occasion any disturbance in the island, and hopes, indeed, that the provisions respecting compensation and the harems, combined with the operation of the Vagrancy Instructions, will make it acceptable to many Arabs, who, ever since the bombardment, have been dreading an unqualified measure.

At the time of Seyyid Khalid's usurpation, the news of which was brought by dhows that had left Zanzibar when the firing began, and before the usurper had fled, there was, for a few brief moments, a dangerous feeling, and even when the news of

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his flight arrived, a fanatical Arab, since imprisoned, excited the people by reports that it was false, that Khalid had really gained the day, and was massacring all the Europeans, and that now was the time for them, once for all, to shake off the alien yoke and strike a blow for their homes and their slaves. The agitation soon subsided, however, as the true facts became known, and many Arabs have since told Mr. O'Sullivan that, notwithstanding Khalid's championship of slavery, they did not regret his fall, as his harsh and tyrranical disposition, aggravated by habits of intemperance, would have rendered him, in all probability, a scourge to all classes of his subjects. At the same time I think it prudent that a man-of-war should be at Pemba, if only to reassure the Indians, who are peculiarly liable to unreasoning panic when the Decree is made known, and Her Majesty's ship "Thrush" has been ordered by the Senior Naval Officer to proceed to-morrow to Chaki-Chaki Harbour, and remain there until further orders.

I discussed very fully with Mr. O'Sullivan and Mr. Farler, who is in charge of the Government estate at Ras Tundawa, and will supervise their application by the Walis, the proposed measures respecting slavery and vagrancy, and I have the honour to inclose a copy of the instructions which I left with the first-named gentleman for their guidance in dealing with these questions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR H. HARDINGE.

Inclosure in No. 4.

Mr. A. Hardinge to Vice-Consul O'Sullivan.

Sir, *Chaki-Chaki, March* 31, 1897.

YOU have already been informed by me, verbally, that Her Majesty's Government have decided to advise the Sultan to extend the legislation directed by his predecessors from the time of Seyyid Barghash against the sale and tenure of slaves, by decreeing the abolition of the legal status of slavery in the two islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. His Highness has expressed his willingness to be guided in this respect by the views of the Protecting Power, and a Decree will shortly be issued (a copy of which will be communicated to you for your guidance) prohibiting the local authorities from enforcing, after a given date, any claims over the body service or property of any person on the ground that such person is a slave. It is proposed, however (1) not to interfere with concubines or with the domestic family relations of the native population; (2) to grant fair pecuniary compensation for proved damage resulting from the loss of any slave-owners of any rights over a lawfully held slave, and to protect the compensation money thus paid from any creditor who could not have claimed the slave in respect of whom it was granted; and (3) to issue careful instructions to the Walis, under which native Africans who have no ostensible means of subsistence, may be dealt with as vagrants and compelled to work for a definite wage for the State or for private employers. It is hoped by Her Majesty's Government that these precautionary measures, combined with the obligation which will be imposed on any slaves claiming freedom under the proposed Decree, to pay rent in money, produce, or labour, to the owners on whose land they reside, may divest the measure of any dangerously revolutionary character, and may enable the transition from the present system of slavery to one of free labour, to be gradually effected without any serious economic disturbance or injury to existing vested interests.

The application of the Decree in Pemba will be left entirely to the two Walis, and to such local authorities as the Sultan may empower to act under them, but Mr. Farler, who is in charge of the Government estate at Ras Tundawa, and acts generally as the Government's Agent in the island, will be directed, on behalf of the Zanzibar Government, to watch and report to the First Minister on its operation, and to advise the two Walis, where necessary, on any points as to which they may, as they probably will under instructions for His Highness, consult him.

Your own attitude on the subject will be that of a friendly spectator, and it is not thought desirable that you should for the present interfere at all actively in any questions which may arise of the interpretation or application of the Decree. You will, however, watch its operation very carefully, bearing in mind that as an expenditure in compensation may be ultimately chargeable to Imperial funds, it is very necessary that it should be prudent, and you will, as Representative of the Protecting Power, at whose instance this legislation has been initiated, keep me fully and regularly

informed as to its effect on the general condition of the island, and of your views as to any measures which might or should be taken to supplement it. It is possible that both the Walis, the Arabs, and the slaves may, from time to time, have recourse to your assistance and advice, and I would not go so far as to say that you should, as a uniform rule, refuse it, but you will be generally safe in referring the Walis to Mr. Farler, and any native applicants, primarily to the Walis and then to Mr. Farler, if the native authorities to whom you would naturally, in the first instance, send them, would be unequal to be dealing with the case. Much must be left to the tact and judgment which you have already had occasion to display since your assumption of your duties in Pemba, nor can any definite rules be laid down beforehand for your guidance, especially until we are able to gauge the real effects of the Decrees. In any question as to which your own sense of what is expedient is insufficient to direct you, you will report all the facts to me, and I will give you, to the best of my ability, the necessary instructions.

Copies of the despatch from Lord Salisbury to myself, indicating the lines on which the reform is to be worked, as well as of the Decrees which the Sultan has undertaken to issue on the subject, and which will probably be promulgated by His Highness within the next few days, will be forwarded to you by the earliest possible opportunity.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR H. HARDINGE.

No. 5.

Mr. A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received May 29.)

My Lord, *Zanzibar, May 12, 1897.*

RATHER more than a month having elapsed since the issue of the Decree of the 1st of Zilkada respecting slavery, your Lordship may be desirous of learning the effect so far produced by it upon the slave population of these islands.

I have accordingly the honour to report that during the past five weeks twenty-five slaves have availed themselves of the Decree to leave their masters. In twenty-one cases, after careful examination by Sir Lloyd Mathews, compensation was awarded to the owners, in three it was refused. The total amount paid was 1,472 rupees, or, on an average, a little over 4*l.* a head per slave. A few outstanding cases here remain to be heard, and there are about twenty in Pemba still unsettled.

Fifteen runaways, without means of subsistence, in respect of whom no claims have been made by their masters, have been sent to work for wages on the Government plantation at Dunga.

Thirty-three slaves have left with their masters during the above-mentioned period for Arabia, exclusive of those going on dhows under the French flag, which have been very numerous and very active in kidnapping, especially in Pemba waters, this season, but over which we have, as your Lordship is aware, no control. This number is rather above the average, so much so that Sir Lloyd, suspecting that these slaves, or at least some of them, were being embarked for the purposes of sale in Arabia, was doubtful as to whether he should permit them to leave Zanzibar, though they expressed, in reply to repeated inquiries put to them separately, and not in the presence of their masters, their wish to accompany the latter, and persistently refused the papers of freedom which Sir Lloyd offered to give them. I told Sir Lloyd that, as these slaves were now, in the eyes of the law, as free as any other Sultan's subjects, I did not think we could forcibly detain them once we had satisfied ourselves that their wish to go was genuine, and that we had thoroughly made clear to them the risk which they ran of being sold on arrival in Arabia.

A certain number of cases in which slaves in the rural districts claimed to avail themselves of the Decree, have been settled by the Walis without compensation, the slaves being induced to contract with their former masters to work half the week for them in return for their holdings, and the remaining half for themselves, and I am informed that as this system is being very generally adopted by the Arabs, who, moreover, since the issue of the Decree, have been far easier and more indulgent with their slaves than before for fear of losing them, there has been so far not much change in the plantations. There is no sign of any rush on the part of either masters or slaves into the Courts, still less of collusive claims made by slaves at the instigation of their owners for the sake of compensation. It is, however, only gradually that the true

meaning of the Decree is being brought home by practical tests to the slave population, and we are still only at the beginning of the experimental stage, but up to the present the effect is rather perceptible than conspicuous, and I am told that disappointment has been experienced by some of the more zealous abolitionists among the missionaries at the slowness with which the change has as yet worked. The Sultan is, I think, sincerely anxious that the Decree should be a success, and should be obeyed by all classes of his subjects. Only a short time ago he fined his predecessor's widow, a daughter of Seyyid Barghash, a sum of 500 rupees for flogging one of her female attendants.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR H. HARDINGE.

No. 6.

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received June 10.)

My Lord, 55, *New Broad Street, London, June* 9, 1897.

I AM directed by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to forward to your Lordship copy of Minute passed at their last meeting in reference to the Abolition Decree issued by the Sultan of Zanzibar on the 6th April last.

The Committee are specially anxious that your Lordship's attention should be turned to their objections to some of the clauses in the Decree contained in the notes of the Minute, marked (*a*), (*b*), (*c*).

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHAS. H. ALLEN.

Inclosure in No. 6.

Minute passed at a Meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, held this day, Arthur Pease, Esq., M.P., in the Chair.

THAT the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society would thank Her Majesty's Government and the Sultan of Zanzibar for having taken a further and important step towards carrying out the abolition of the legal status of slavery in the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba by the issue of the Decree of the 6th April last.

But, inasmuch as this Decree contains clauses which are inconsistent with a state of complete abolition, they feel bound to enter a protest against the following provisions:—

(*a.*) The provision that concubines "shall remain in their present relations," except where cruelty can be proved: a provision which appears likely to have the effect of retaining in virtual slavery the greater portion of the female population.

(*b.*) The provisions for compensating the former slave-holders.

The Committee are convinced that no just claim for such compensation can be substantiated, and they would repudiate as entirely devoid of foundation the suggestion that the Decree of the 1st August, 1890, contained any guarantee against further measures for the suppression of slavery. This provision creates a precedent which will tend to retard and to increase the difficulties of emancipation on the mainland.

(*c.*) The provision for committing to native Courts all claims and disputes arising under the Decree.

These Courts cannot be expected to be unbiased in their decisions with regard to compensation, which may render necessary, as indicated in the Marquess of Salisbury's despatch of the 10th February last, the grant of pecuniary assistance by Her Majesty's Government in order to make good any deficit in the Zanzibar revenues occasioned thereby. The Committee consider that in all cases such decisions should be sanctioned or revised by Europeans.

(Signed) CHAS. H. ALLEN, *Secretary.*

55, *New Broad Street, London, June* 4, 1897.

No. 7.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir A. Hardinge.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, June 26, 1897.*

FORWARD to Mr. Craufurd the following telegram :—

"The Attorney-General has laid down that a British subject anywhere, in whatever service or employment he may happen to be engaged, if he takes part in restoring to his master, or otherwise depriving any person of his liberty on the sole ground that he is a fugitive slave, is breaking the British law and exposing himself to penalties."

I have to inform you, for your personal guidance, that you should conform your conduct to the law thus laid down.

No. 8.

Extract from Letter from Sir A. Hardinge, dated June 26, 1897.

O'SULLIVAN came down from Pemba recently, and says the Decree is working well there. The slaves do not understand as yet that any who choose to demand freedom can get it for the asking; they have a mere general idea that orders have been given that they shall be well treated, and therefore come to complain on the slightest provocation (one man even ran his master in for boxing his ears), and go back quite satisfied when the particular grievance complained of has been redressed, which it always is, as the Arabs fully understand that the Walis dare not enforce their rights any longer. The consequence is that, without any general emancipation or great social revolution, there has been a complete cessation of the old thrashings, &c., of slaves, and that they now get a very good time, practically only working half the day. O'Sullivan tells me that no compensation has been given in Pemba; only one case occurred in which some slaves refused to return on any conditions whatever to their former owner—an Arab lady, and in this, as cruelty was proved, the Wali by his advice refused to compensate.

On the other hand, I believe a lot of slaves have been shipped to Muscat on French dhows, since the Decree, by Arabs who have no stake in the country here, and some to the German coast. Meyer, the Governor of Tanga, told me when I was down at Jasin in May that a lot of Pemba Arabs had come over, and asked to be allowed to migrate with their slaves to German territory, but, he said, he would only give them land, if they surrendered or sold their estates in Pemba, as he did not want subjects owning a double allegiance, with one foot in the English and the other in the German Protectorates. They thought this not good enough, and went back to their own homes.

No. 9.

Sir A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received July 29.)

My Lord, *Zanzibar, July 4, 1897.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, with reference to my despatch No. 104 of the 12th May, a copy of a letter from Mr. Nicol, of Messrs. Smith Mackenzie and Co., from which your Lordship will observe that the abolition of the legal status of slavery is beginning to tell upon the Zanzibar labour market. Mr. Nicol's complaint is not so much that men will not engage as labourers as that, having engaged, they will not do the work assigned to them, and, realizing that they are no longer slaves, are insubordinate and difficult to manage.

Mr. Nicol's idea was to establish a labour bureau, at which the Government should engage workmen from among the "vibarua," as the urban labourers are called here, and sub-let them to the mercantile firms, undertaking itself to punish them if they broke the contracts made with it; but Sir Lloyd Mathews and myself, after discussing the matter privately, were of opinion that such a measure was premature, and that it would be sufficient to send down a few Askaris to the harbour with orders to arrest the "vibarua," and lock them up in prison if they gave trouble or refused to perform the tasks for which they had engaged themselves; and I hope that a few examples of this description may have a sufficient effect.

As the provisions of the Decree are getting better known and understood by the

slave population, the numbers claiming their liberty are increasing. At the end of last week the total number of persons who had claimed their freedom since the issue of the Decree was 120, or about forty a-month, and each week the number of applicants slightly increases. These applicants are chiefly town slaves, who worked as servants or artisans for Indians and other persons having no slaves of their own, and remitted half their earnings to their masters. They have, however, in many cases, not gained much by the change, as their Indian employers have, with characteristic ingenuity, pointed out to them that now that they are free, and can keep all their earnings for themselves, they can afford to have their wages considerably lowered without actual loss to themselves, and have therefore cut their wages down by half, the Indian now pocketing the money which he formerly disbursed for the benefit of the Arab. On the other hand, such slaves as pursue small independent trades, baking and selling cakes, catching fish for sale in the bazaar, &c., are undoubtedly much more prosperous than formerly.

The plantation slaves, who reside on their masters' estates, have so far availed themselves much less extensively than the urban ones of the Decree, and in Pemba scarcely any have as yet claimed their freedom. I propose, however, reserving such remarks as I have to make on the effect of the measure in Pemba, so far as I can gather it from conversations with Mr. Farler and Dr. O'Sullivan, until I can send your Lordship the official Report, which the latter is now preparing on the subject.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR H. HARDINGE.

Inclosure in No. 9.

Mr. Nicol to Sir A. Hardinge.

Dear Mr. Hardinge, *Zanzibar, June* 30, 1897.

A LITTLE time ago you asked me if I noticed any effect upon the labour market caused by the abolition of slavery, and I told you at the time I had not.

Since then, however, the people are beginning to realize that their masters have no power over them, and our troubles in coaling are increasing.

Plenty of people turn up, but we cannot get them to work, and they will not pay any attention to the headmen or to our clerks, and when remonstrated with, say that if our people try to hurry them they will take them to the Balozi (Consul-General).

Yours, &c.

(Signed) W. J. W. NICOL.

No. 10.

Sir A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received August 9.)

(Extract.) *Zanzibar, July* 5, 1897.

I HAVE the honour to report that a meeting of the Council of the East Africa Protectorate was held yesterday under my presidency, Sir Lloyd Mathews, Mr. de Sausmarez, and Mr. Alexander being the members present.

I informed the Council of the recent declaration made in Parliament by the Attorney-General, and communicated to me in your Lordship's telegram of the 26th ultimo respecting the restoration to their masters of fugitive slaves. The Council considered that the effect of this declaration might conceivably be serious, and that it was certainly somewhat embarrassing, as it made it illegal for British officials in the Provinces of Seyyidieh and Tanaland to enforce the Mahommedan *lex loci* respecting slavery, which, until it was formally repealed, the Native Courts, even those presided over by British Judges, could with difficulty refuse to administer. Suppose, for example (to take a common case), that an Arab should come to a Magistrate, whether British or native, at Mombasa, complain that his concubine had deserted him, and was living with another man, and request that an order should be made, as provided by Mahommedan law, compelling her to return to him. What would be the answer of the Magistrate, and, assuming for the sake of argument, that he ordered the restitution of the concubine to her master, and the executive officers refused, in the presence of the Attorney-General's dictum, to carry out the order, even if it were that of the Judicial officer for the Protectorate, would the latter, even if only theoretically, be rendering themselves liable to penalties for disobeying a direction of the Judicial officer's Court.

Mr. de Sausmarez expressed the opinion that the Attorney-General's declaration in Parliament, however weighty in view of his position, as an exposition of English law, and however binding in view of your Lordship's telegram, on executive officers in their executive capacity, could not be regarded as a legal decision obliging a Judicial officer, sitting judicially, to deny to a suitor the benefits of the still unrepealed local law which he was appointed to administer; and he thought that in such a case as had been supposed, Mr. Cator would be bound to examine the application on its merits, and decide accordingly. He further thought that Mr. Cator (especially when under the new order he ceased to be a Consular officer, and became a Judge absolutely independent of the executive) would be protected by his judicial capacity from any penalties to which his action might otherwise render him liable. He presumed, as regards these penalties, that the Attorney-General had had in view the provisions of the Indian Penal Code, making it penal to assist in reducing to, or retaining any person in slavery, or otherwise depriving him of his freedom; but these provisions, which by the old and new Orders in Council were only applicable here so far as circumstances permitted, scarcely seemed to touch the case of an official administering by the Queen's Commands a definite Law, of which the institution of domestic slavery formed an integral part, and which no lawful authority had yet abolished within the area to which it applied. He thought in any case that it would be very regrettable if any conflict should arise on the subject between the executive officials of Government and the new Native Courts, in whose justice the native population were beginning to have confidence, and whose authority and prestige it should be our object to support.

I said that I had mentioned the matter with a view to eliciting the opinions of the Council as to a contingency which was not unlikely to arise, but that I thought that there was little to be gained by attempting to provide for it beforehand, and that our wisest course would be to wait till the question became a practical one, when it would doubtless bring with it its own solution. There was, however, another consideration. The declaration of the Attorney-General would greatly strengthen the Missions in the neighbourhood of Mombasa in their practice of encouraging slaves to leave their masters and settle on Mission lands, by better terms than any native land-owner could afford to offer them. Was there any means by which we could, even though only perhaps in a limited degree, protect the native population indirectly, if we were precluded from doing so directly, against the unfair competition of the Missions—with all their capital and influence—in the native labour market, and prevent the Mission stations from being converted into chartered sanctuaries for lazy or vagabond slaves?

I should say, in explanation, that there are close to Mombasa five Mission stations, of which Rabai is the most important, and that it has been the frequent, I had almost said the constant, custom of the missionaries there (a practice which had never been resorted to in Zanzibar) to receive any runaway slave, and give him land close to the station to cultivate free of charge, keeping all the produce for himself, instead of, as among the natives, making over a certain portion of the crop to the master whose land he lives on, the only obligation imposed upon the slaves being attendance at church (for they, of course, pretend to be Christians or "inquirers"), submission to the ecclesiastical government and regulations of the Mission, among whose dependents they are enrolled, and the education of their children as Christians. Your Lordship can easily imagine the bitterness aroused in the Arab and Swahili population by this combined attack on their religion and their material interests. In the time of Sir Charles Euan-Smith, who censured it in the most unsparing terms, it nearly produced a rebellion; and though there is now no longer any fear of that, it still generates, in certain cases, an amount of bad blood, which is much to be regretted. The Imperial British East Africa Company checked it, not without many unpleasant disputes, by compelling the Missions to restore slaves who were claimed by their masters; and during the disturbances of 1895-96, the disordered state of the country and the occupation of most of the Mission stations by our forces combined to prevent it; but I found, on my return from leave last February, that it had reassumed somewhat serious proportions, and the people both at Malindi and at Takaungu complained to me that many of their fields were lying fallow, and that this year's harvest would, unless something were done, be jeopardized by the wholesale desertion of slaves to the Mission stations, and by the grant to them of free lands by the Mission clergy. I did not think it advisable to approach the Missions in any authoritative manner with regard to it; but I sent Mr. D. J. Wilson to Rabai, Ribe, Jomvu, and Mazeras, to point out to the missionaries in a friendly way that this particular method of proselytism, besides being a violation of the local law, was unfair and injurious to the province as a whole: and I spoke myself in the same sense to Pastor Jones, the native priest of Rabai.

No. 11.

Sir A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received September 3.)

(Extract.) *Zanzibar, August* 11, 1897.

I REQUESTED Mr. O'Sullivan, about the time that I addressed to your Lordship my despatch of the 4th ultimo, to prepare a report on the working of the recent slavery Decree in the Island of Pemba, but I regret to say that that officer has been so seriously ill with fever (he is now in hospital here) that he has been unable, up to the present, to carry out my instructions on the subject.

I have, however, the honour to transmit herewith two reports, addressed to Sir Lloyd Mathews by the Rev. J. Farler, the Zanzibar Government Commissioner in Pemba, which will give your Lordship a good general idea of the effect there of the recent legislation.

It would seem from these reports that, whilst the bulk of the Pemba slaves have, as yet, scarcely realized that they can have their freedom for the asking, they are fully alive to the fact that their masters can no longer oppress them, and, as a consequence, the acts of cruelty for which Pemba enjoyed, till quite lately, an unenviable reputation, have, to all appearance, entirely ceased. Mr. Farler does not give any statistics as to the number of slaves who have actually claimed their freedom in Pemba, though, writing on the 17th June, he cites eleven instances as having come before him since the previous mail, in only three of which compensation was given. I should infer that about fifteen or twenty a-month was the average up to the present, which is a good deal lower than that in Zanzibar.

Mr. Farler's remarks about the hopeless idleness of many of the freed slaves whom he has tried to employ on the Government plantation, but who, "prefer to starve or steal rather than work," are undoubtedly discouraging, and may seem at first sight to justify the pessimistic forecast of those who, like Sir Lloyd Mathews and myself, argued against any general emancipation, but I trust that this state of things may prove to be merely a transitory, if regrettable, reaction against the compulsory labour of slavery, and that, as time goes on, and the freed slaves become accustomed to their freedom, they may gradually develop habits, not perhaps, indeed, of very active industry, but of honest and fairly regular work. This, at any rate, is the end towards which our present efforts are directed.

The story told by Mr. Farler of the slaves who, by way of making their case stronger, introduced into it, as a casual after-thought, an entirely gratuitous charge of murder against their master, is a good illustration of the utter recklessness of the statements often made by them, and of the difficulty of eliciting any trustworthy facts from them, not to speak of the whole truth, in any question in which they are interested.

Before leaving the subject of the Decree and its effects, I may mention that we have just had here an instance of an attempt to obtain compensation by false pretences, the details of which may be of interest, in view of the anticipated danger of such frauds, and the best means of guarding against them.

A low-class Shehiri Arab, a few days ago, persuaded some slaves belonging to different absent masters, and working as porters in the town, to pretend to be his, and go with him to General Sir Lloyd Mathews to claim their freedom, promising them each a share of the compensation money which he hoped to obtain for their supposed loss. Something in the man's manner led Sir Lloyd Mathews to suspect that he was not speaking the truth, and he told him to go and bring witnesses of undoubted respectability from among the chief Sheikhs of his tribe in support of his assertions. The man withdrew, and, as he was leaving the house, tried to bribe one of Sir Lloyd Mathew's orderlies to appear as one of his witnesses. The latter at once arrested him, and he admitted the fraud which he had attempted to commit. We have decided to make such an example of him as will effectually deter others from imitating his conduct. He is to receive a year's imprisonment, and to be flogged in advance.

This is, I think, the first case of its kind, the rights of ownership alleged by masters, whose slaves have claimed freedom, having always been very carefully scrutinized, both by the Walis and by Sir Lloyd Mathews, to whom the former usually refer them where they feel the least uncertainty or doubt, and compensation not being given where a freed slave is willing to return to his master's estate and work upon it on the basis of a contract providing for a fair division of produce.

Inclosure 1 in No. 11.

Rev. J. P. Farler to Sir L. Mathews.

Sir, *Pemba, June* 17, 1897.

I HAVE the honour to report that since the last mail everything has been very quiet. I have had before me a large number of cases, but none of any importance, Some are amusing, involving family affairs, such as a young man and his sweetheart, Arabs, came and begged me to intercede with their parents so that they might obtain permission to marry; also an elderly Arab came and requested me to assist in the reconciliation of himself and his wife, who have quarrelled.

News of the Decree.—I am informed that the news of the recent Decree is spreading rapidly among the slaves; this, and the fact that masters are forbidden now to beat their slaves, but must take them before the Wali for grave offences, has aroused a spirit of disobedience among the slaves, and they are refusing with insolence to obey orders; one case I have heard of where a slave threatened to stab his master, and others taunt their masters, saying, "You dare not beat us now."

Slaves applying for Freedom.—Several slaves have applied for their freedom: Zuhura and Mame Satu, slaves of Alif-bin-Nasr of Kidongoni (as these women have been cruelly treated, there should be no compensation in this case). Mambo, a slave of Binti Masundi of Tongoni. Wazanyi, Nasibu, and Faraji, slaves of Masundi-bin-Juma. Songoro, slave of Ambali, a Swahili of Magogoni. Feruzi and Faraji, slaves of Nasr-bin-Hamis-Riame of Matangatuani. Bahati, a slave of Binti-Suleimani-bin-Jugu of Bilikau.

Excepting, perhaps, in the cases of the three last slaves, no compensation should be given. Suria, slave of Ali-bin-Masund of Umondo, has already been sent to Zanzibar and freed.

I am in correspondence with the Wali as to the amount of compensation, if any, that should be paid to the owners of Feruzi, Faraji, and Bahati.

Woman stolen from Zanzibar.—Risasi-Wad-Sadalla, one of the regular Askari, came and reported to me that he had found his sister, who had been lost in Zanzibar some years ago. The girl Riziki said she had been a water-girl for Seyyid-Khalifa, and was under Raggi of Chueni; she was enticed into a house at Malindi, gagged, and put on board a dhow at night, and brought to Pemba. In the confusion of landing she escaped into the woods, but was soon found there by Ali-bin-Abdullah of Kokotoni, who made her his slave. I told her to stay here until some representative of Ali-bin-Abdullah came for her, and then I would go into the case.

Complaints against Masters.—Kasibeni, Mrashi, and Sihafa, three slaves of Ali-bin-Abdullah of Kokotoni, complained that they had piece-work given them, more than elderly women could do in the day, and because they did not always finish their work their master had said he would send them to the Wali for punishment, and this frightening them they had come to me for protection. I gave them a letter to the Wali, asking him to see into the matter and give the women any protection they needed.

Mabruki and Bilali, slaves of Mzee-bin-Hamis of Kivumoni, complain that they were given more piece-work than they can get through in the day. My Secretary, Mahomed-bin-Nasr, examined them, and reported that if their statement was true, they were given considerably more work than it was customary to give slaves to do in a day. Wrote to Mzee-bin-Hamis, and reminded him that if his slaves chose to claim their freedom they could do so, and I begged him to deal kindly and justly with his slaves.

Rehema, a slave of Mahomed-bin-Salim of Machengwe, complains that she has an excessive amount of work in the early morning and at night, and to be in the shamba all day. Wrote to Suleiman-bin-Saïd, and asked him to inquire into the truth of her statement.

I have reported these cases to you not on account of any special importance attached to them, but to show you how greatly the character of the complaints have changed. When I first came it was cruelty and beating, but the letter of His Highness the Sultan has almost put an end to cruelty, and the Walis deal now officially with all cases of grave offences on the part of slaves.

Sending Slaves to me for petty Offences.—Juma-bin-Hamis of Tondashi has taken to sending me for settlement every little quarrel or difficulty among his slaves. I do not think this proceeds from humility, but I fancy it is a sly joke on his part in retaliation for my action in connection with his slaves taken last March. He would like to give me some idea of the difficulty in dealing with them. I have, however, written to tell him I

think it much better that he should settle the petty difficulties of his people himself, and send to the Wali those he cannot manage.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. P. FARLER.

Inclosure 2 in No. 11.

Rev. J. P. Farler to Sir L. Mathews.

Sir, *Pemba, August* 2, 1897.

I HAVE the honour to report that, although very few slaves have taken advantage of the Decree to apply for their freedom, yet it has wrought a great change in their condition, for whereas, on my arrival, slaves were daily coming before me to accuse their masters of cruelty, now they come chiefly to demand a new arrangement as to hours of labour, and the amount of work they are to do. The slaves are getting very independent and begin to know their rights, and refuse to work at all if they think the amount of work is not fair. Sometimes when they are angry they will bring serious accusations against their masters without a shadow of truth in them.

Twice lately, I have had false charges of murder brought against masters. In one case eight slaves swore to the murder, but after a careful investigation before a Magistrate it was proved to be quite false. They then confessed that they had started from their home for here to obtain a rearrangement of their work, but, on the way, one suggested that they ought to make their case stronger, and proposed an accusation of murder. This they all agreed to, and then they prepared their story, so that all might tell the same tale.

Many again who apply for freedom are given work on the Government shamba for wages, but soon prove to be hopelessly idle, and prefer to starve or steal rather than work.

Up to the present time all who have come here to seek for work have been given it on the Government plantations, and all but the idle and depraved are more than content with their lot.

A short time ago two slaves applied for their freedom, and when they were asked how they intended to earn their living, replied, "Cultivate their shamba." Upon being asked where their shamba was, they said it was part of their master's shamba which he had allotted to them. It was then pointed out to them that they could hardly expect to retain their shambas after they had obtained their freedom unless they paid rent of some kind to the owner. This seemed quite a new idea to them, and they said they should like time to consider it. They were told to come again as soon as they had made up their minds, but they have not reappeared.

To-morrow I propose to start for Weti to see what the Wali is doing, and then to visit the Government Agent, Mahomed-bin-Juma at Kishi-Kashi, to inquire into the condition of the slaves at the northern end of the island. On Thursday last I went to Chaki-Chaki and called on the Wali, and I think it would be well if he were given a hint that the Decree is not intended to remain a dead letter. I shall be glad to receive instructions on this point.

I ought, as soon as possible, to visit all the small cultivated islands around Pemba, and see what the condition of the slaves is on them. I doubt if any of them have ever heard of the Decree. Directly the steam-launch arrives I intend to do so, and will then report to you, Sir, the result of my inspection.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. P. FARLER.

No. 12.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir A. Hardinge.

Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 20, 1897.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 5th July, I have to inform you that I am consulting the Law Officers of the Crown in regard to the course which should be followed by British subjects, public officers of the Administration, when application is made to them to put in force the Law of the Seyyidiyeh on the recovery of slaves.

As regards the action of the Missions in granting land gratis, or at nominal rates only, to slaves, I am of opinion that the missionaries and other persons occupying land might, in all cases where there is any doubt as to title, be called upon, as a general measure, to furnish statements of the land they claim, and to show their titles.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 13.

Sir A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received October 2.)

My Lord, *Zanzibar, September* 8, 1897.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, with reference to my despatch of the 11th August, a copy of a further report from the Rev. J. P. Farler, Zanzibar Government Commissioner in Pemba, respecting affairs in that island, with special reference to the condition of the gaol at Weti, the working of the recent Decree on the subject of slavery, and the attempts of certain Arabs to export slaves under the French flag to Arabia. The explanatory marginal notes are by General Sir Lloyd Mathews.

I have at the same time the honour to inclose herewith a translation of an instruction which His Highness the Sultan, at my suggestion, addressed to the two Walis in Pemba, reminding them that his Decree respecting slavery was intended to be seriously enforced, and of the replies which have now been received from them.

Rumours had reached me that the Walis, either from apathy or undue deference to native public opinion, were allowing the Decree to remain a dead letter, and whilst I was by no means anxious to see a rush of Pemba slaves into the Courts, it seemed a little suspicious that so few of them should have availed themselves of their rights. The Walis assert, as your Lordship will observe, that they have made the Decree public, but that slaves do not come to them for freedom.

This is probably due to the fact that whilst in Zanzibar the Wali's Courts are new, and the slaves therefore go to them as a new means of redress, in Pemba they have existed for a long time past, and have, under the old system when the legal status of slavery was recognized, enforced the rights of masters, and punished idle and mutinous slaves, so that the latter are a good deal more shy of them than is the case in this island, and prefer, if they wish to leave their masters or to remain on their lands on improved terms, to apply to Mr. Farler for protection.

Another reason, which I think accounts for the smaller number of slaves who have applied for freedom in Pemba, as compared with Zanzibar, is that in Pemba, where the towns are few and small, the slaves are almost all agricultural, and live on their master's lands, there being very few of the "vibarua" class, or town labourers, living in their own houses, and merely paying a portion of their earnings to their owners. A slave of this latter class has a home independent of his master, and to him freedom means that he keeps all he earns for himself, and merely sacrifices the right to food and shelter when out of work. But the shamba slave's home and that of his family is on his master's land, and once he can make an advantageous arrangement with him, and knows—as they now nearly all do—that he is practically free, and can no longer be beaten or imprisoned, he is less anxious to leave his plot of ground, and face the world with his freedom and nothing else. Even in Zanzibar, the number of country slaves who have claimed freedom is much fewer than that of town labourers, and the Walis are wisely doing all they can to get the Arabs to keep their people on the land by contracts, which will make it worth their while to stay there.

I may add, before closing this despatch, that in the course of a visit which I paid last week to Chuaka, the capital of the southern and eastern district of this island, the Wali Hilal-bin-Mahomed informed me that about sixty slaves had come to him to claim their freedom in his district during the five months which have elapsed since the abolition of the legal status of slavery. These were nearly all the slaves of "Wahadim," the aborigines of the east coast of Zanzibar, very few of whom are legally held. There are scarcely any Arab land-owners in the district.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR H. HARDINGE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 13.

Rev. J. P. Farler to Sir L. Mathews.

(Extract.) *Tundawa, Pemba, August* 29, 1897.

Visit to Weti.—I have the honour to report that during the present month I have paid a visit to Weti, and been most cordially received by the Wali and the principal people. I advised the releasing from prison the remainder of the northern Arabs,[1] who, I found, were suffering from anæmia.

The Prison at Weti.—I found the prison perfectly clean, and the prisoners had no complaints to make, except that the large new windows recently put into the prison let in too much damp and cold.[2] I think if stray visitors, ignorant of the customs of the people, would try and learn a little about their habits before making an outcry, it would often be better for the people in whom they take so kindly but mistaken an interest. I write this because the natives never put windows in their houses, believing that they cause fevers and colds, and it was owing to the complaints of a casual visitor that these larger windows were put in.

Arrangements with Arab Masters.—While I was at Weti several parties of slaves came before me. They said they did not want to leave their masters, but they wanted their hours of work regulated. I arranged with these Arabs, viz., Masoud-bin-Ali, of Makua, Hamoud-bin-Majid, and Mahomed-bin-Saïd, that they would accept the demands of their labourers; that they should have two days a-week for their own use;[3] that they should begin work at 7 A.M., have one hour at noon, and leave off work at 5 P.M.; that they were to pick not less than 10 or more than 12 pishi of cloves a-day, and if they picked more than 12 they were to be paid for every pishi. That they were not to hoe more than 40 miale a-day, *i.e.*, a piece of land 280 feet by 7 feet; that they were not to do more than one kind of work a-day, but the master could say in the morning what sort of work he wished them to do, and then it was not to be changed during the day; that all overtime, or work done for their masters on their own three days, must be paid for at the current rate of wages.[4] The masters agreed to accept this arrangement, and the men expressed themselves delighted.

Visit to Machengwe.—I then visited the Government Agent at Machengwe, Nasr-bin-Adi, and impressed upon him the necessity of a careful watch with his boat, so that no slaves were shipped off to Arabia.[5]

Visit to Kishi-Kashi.—The next, I paid a visit to the Government Agent at Kishi-Kashi, Mahomed-bin-Juma, and told him to exercise a strict supervision at Masuka,[6] the port at the extreme north of the island, where, at this time of the year, the Arabs try to ship slaves to Muscat.

Sending Slaves to Muscat.—Many complaints have been made on the part of slaves of attempts of their masters to get them to Masuka and ship them to Arabia,[7] but none of the charges could be proved, for both Arabs and the natives lied so recklessly that to get at the truth was hopeless.

Government officials, both English and Arab (Mr. Lister and Mahomed-bin-Juma) have been to Masuka this month, but they could not find any dhows there. The only dhow was that of Selim-bin-Saif at Chauni, under the French flag, which intended to take a cargo of slaves to Muscat; but, as I informed you in a recent letter, the vigilant watch kept by the Askari prevented the embarkation of any slaves, and so the voyage was given up, and the owner with some of the Arab passengers have been to Zanzibar to complain of this infringement of their liberty.[8]

Visit to Chaki-Chaki.—At the special invitation of the Wali of Chaki-Chaki, I went to pay him and the Judge Suleiman-bin-Saïd an official visit on the 11th August, being the birthday of their Prophet Mahomed, which is kept as a great festival in Pemba.

Complaint of Slaves.—The shamba people of Hamid-bin-Hamid, Suafi of Bopwe, who is now in Zanzibar, came and complained that his nephew Azan, who is in charge of the shamba, ordered them to get ready to go to Masuka to embark for Muscat.[9]

I wrote to the Wali and asked him to send for Azan. This he did, and detained him in the fort while he inquires into the truth of the charge.[10]

I send you seven slaves from Dongoni Shamba who claim their freedom, and many

[1] Imprisoned for slave-dealing. [2] The new prison on European lines is almost finished. [3] As in Zanzibar. [4] Four annas. [5] He has received written instructions to stop all dhows suspected of slave-dealing of every nationality. [6] A police-station is occupied there. [7] In dhows carrying French flag. The Suri dhows are the worst. [8] Case settled; could not prove shipment of slaves. Dhow allowed to sail for Muscat under police supervision. [9] (?) May be a false charge. [10] Report not yet sent.

others. All their names I will write on a separate list. Their late masters will come with them to receive such compensation as the Court awards.[1]

The recent energetic action of the Arab Government officials to prevent the shipment of slaves to Arabia has caused a very bitter feeling[2] amongst the Arabs in the northern district of the island. Up to the present time muttered curses are the strongest expressions of disapproval, but I think it would be wise to increase the number of the Regulars at head-quarters.[3] At present, owing to fevers and chills, I have not more than ten effective men, and the Arabs know exactly the number of our force. I should like to commend to your especial notice Nasr-bin-Adi, who with Rashid-bin-Nasr, one of Mahomed-bin-Juma's Headmen, have spent many nights in a small open boat; and the Kishi-Kashi Jemadar Adamu[4] has also slept, or rather remained on guard, on the open beach at Chauni. These have shown great earnestness and enthusiasm in the Government service.[5]

Inclosure 2 in No. 13.

The Sultan of Zanzibar to the Walis Khamis-bin-Salim, Suleiman-bin-Mubarak, and the Judge Suleiman-bin-Saïd.

(Translation.) *27th Rabia-el-Awal*, 1315
(After compliments.) (*August* 27, 1897).

WE have heard nothing about our Proclamation. Has it been accepted by all the people, and does every one act according to it, or had any one taken objection to it? Has any person come to complain against his master, saying his master was forcing him to work, or does every one conform to our order?

Please let us know.

Inclosure 3 in No. 13.

Khamis-bin-Salim-el-Hosni (Wali of Weti) to the Sultan of Zanzibar.

Weti, 2nd Rabi-al-Akhar, 1315
(Translation.) (*August* 30, 1897).

YOUR Highness' slave received your Highness' letter, and its contents are understood. All your Highness' subjects agreed to your Proclamation. They have followed all contained in it. Every one obeyed; no one has violated your Highness' orders in the carrying out of the Proclamation. Inshallah (please God) no one shall violate the orders of the Government. If I find anything (to the) contrary, I shall report to your Highness.

May God grant your Highness long life.

Inclosure 4 in No. 13.

Suleiman-bin-Mubarak (Wali of Chaki-Chaki) to the Sultan of Zanzibar.

Chaki-Chaki, 2nd Rabi-al-Akhar, 1315
(Translation.) (*August* 30, 1897).

YOUR slave has received your Highness' letter, and its contents are understood. Your Highness' Proclamation was agreed to by all your subjects. They followed all contained in it. No one has appeared before me to complain against their masters for hard work or otherwise. All have obeyed your Highness' orders in conformity with the Proclamation.

May God grant your Highness long reign.

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[1] No Report sent with them. The Wali directed to go into the matter thoroughly and report. [2] They cannot do more than talk. [3] 25 Regulars as bodyguard; 200 irregulars for police work. Will send half a company of Indians in addition to Regulars already stationed at Mtimdana. [4] All good men. [5] They all have received greater pay, more than double the desturi.

Inclosure 5 in No. 13.

Suleiman-bin-Saïd (Assistant Wali and Judge of Chaki-Chaki) to the Sultan of Zanzibar.

Chaki-Chaki, 3rd Rabi-al-Akhar, 1315
(Translation.) (*August* 31, 1897).

YOUR slave has received your Highness' letter, and its contents are understood. Your Highness' Proclamation was agreed to by all, and all it contained has been followed. No one has violated your Highness' orders; they quietly obeyed. No one has appeared before me to lodge complaint against their owners. Your slave is always at your Highness' orders.

God bless your Highness.

No. 14.

Sir A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received October 7.)

My Lord, *Zanzibar, September* 14, 1897.

I HAVE the honour to report that the Rev. H. K. Binns, who is in charge of the Church Missionary station in the diocese of Eastern Equatorial Africa, has received instructions from Bishop Tucker to refuse absolutely for the future to surrender, or, I believe, to decline to harbour any runaway slaves coming to the Missions.

I have already had occasion to point out to your Lordship the resentment occasioned by the system to which some of the Missions near Mombasa resort of increasing the population of their stations, and developing their property to the detriment and at the expense of the native agriculturist, by enticing the more lazy and worthless slave cultivators, who, as your Lordship is aware, are now slaves only in name, to leave their master's lands, and settle on more favourable terms than any of the native land-owners could offer them, on so-called Mission ground. The practice appears innocent and laudable to persons living in England, who are led to believe that these slaves are fleeing from a cruel bondage, and that I, or the officials of the Administration, have never enforced the provisions of Seyyid Ali's Decree prohibiting any ill-treatment of slaves; but it has been condemned in unsparing terms by Sir C. Euan-Smith, Mr. Mackenzie, and Captain Lugard, as to whose zeal for the abolition of slavery there cannot be any doubt, and is in distinct violation of the pledges given to Mr. Mackenzie, when Administrator for the Imperial British East Africa Company on behalf of the Church Missionary Society by the Rev. W. Salter-Price, at that time priest-in-charge of Frere Town and Secretary to the Church Missionary Society in East Africa. I transmit to your Lordship, for convenience of reference, a copy of a despatch addressed by Sir C. Euan-Smith to your Lordship on this subject, from the correspondence inclosed, in which you will perceive that the Rev. Mr. Price appointed a missionary at Rabai, with four policemen under his orders, to prevent any runaway slaves from entering the Mission settlement, and only objected to the demand made by the Company that he should send Church Missionary Society's Askaris (*i.e.*, Mission men) to catch runaways and restore them to their masters. So completely was this practice recognized as right and proper, and acquiesced in by the Mission, that the bye-laws of Rabai, drawn up conjointly between Mr. Sub-Commissioner Pigott and the Church Missionary Society, provide (No. 7) that all runaways shall be detained at the station by the missionary-in-charge until he received directions from the District Officer. It is open to Bishop Tucker to protest against the system, but it is not fair of him to create the impression that it is not one in which he and his brother missionaries have for the last seven years acquiesced, and to which the Church Missionary Society's East African representatives have solemnly promised to conform.

Your Lordship has decided that it must now be discontinued; but in view of the statements made in Parliament and in the press on the subject, I think it not amiss to draw attention to the past attitude of the Missions with regard to it.

I should, however, say, in justice to the Free Methodist Mission, that they have always taken up a more uncompromising position than the Church Missionary Society as regards the restitution of fugitive slaves, and that the attitude of the present Heads of the Free Methodist Society, as reported in the pages of the "Anti-Slavery Reporter,"

in protesting against the toleration of slavery in any form, is more consistent with their past conduct, at a time when it might have entailed the destruction of their Missions by the natives than the course now followed by the Bishop. They were obliged to acquiesce in the restoration of fugitive slaves, and in the operation of the Mahommedan law of slavery, which had been solemnly guaranteed to the inhabitants of the country by the Company, as it was afterwards by Lord Kimberley's orders, when the Protectorate was established, but they avowed that they did so with the greatest reluctance. This policy, therefore, whatever else may be thought of it, has at least the merit of consistency. The other Missions in Zanzibar and East Africa, the Universities' Mission, the two Roman Catholic Missions, and the German Protestant Missions, have never harboured runaway slaves in defiance of the representations of Her Majesty's Representatives, or in German East Africa, of the German Government; but have contented themselves, where any complaint was made by a slave of cruelty, with sending him to us for an inquiry, which naturally ended, if the cruelty (or, as sometimes happened, illegal possession) were proved, in the slave being freed.

In conclusion, I would observe that I was struck by a remark which fell in the debate on this subject in the House of Commons from the Attorney-General, to the effect that many of these so-called "fugitive slaves" were criminals fleeing from justice. Strong objections were taken to this suggestion, and found expression in a letter to the "Times" from Bishop Tucker. It may not, therefore, be out of place if I call your Lordship's attention to a letter by the Rev. H. K. Binns on this subject, which appeared in the "Church Missionary Intelligencer" of June last, and of which a copy is inclosed herewith. You will observe that Mr. Binns, who has been far longer in East Africa than Bishop Tucker, says that good slaves rarely leave their masters: a slave generally runs away because he has committed a theft, or been lazy, or on account of some question with a woman; and, he adds, that he has never come personally across a case in which a slave has been cruelly beaten. I should perhaps mention incidentally, to guard against possible misapprehension, that the opinion which Mr. Binns ascribes in his letter to a high Government official, to the effect that it was not wise to educate the natives, is diametrically opposed to that generally held by most members of the Protectorate Administration, and certainly by myself.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR H. HARDINGE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 14.

Sir C. Euan-Smith to the Marquess of Salisbury.

My Lord, *Zanzibar, February* 1, 1889.

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of a further letter received from Mr. Mackenzie, Managing Director of the Imperial British East Africa Company, with inclosures, regarding the future attitude of the various Missionary Societies surrounding Mombasa, with special reference to the vexed question of the reception of runaway slaves.

Mr. Mackenzie appears to consider that there is some danger of the evil which h has so lately succeeded in clearing away being recommenced in those missionary stations, owing to the want of hearty co-operation on the part of the missionaries themselves in the matter of formally rejecting or refusing to receive, even for a time, the runaway slaves when they present themselves at the stations.

Mr. Mackenzie has already done so much in his humane endeavours to successfully deal with this question, and the question itself is one which concerns not only the prosperity of the Company, but the safety of all Europeans resident within the British sphere. I intend addressing a courteous Circular letter to all the Mission stations within my jurisdiction, bringing to their notice the dangers which seem now to present themselves to Mr. Mackenzie's mind, and the necessity of their acting in this matter with perfect good faith, and with an entire determination that they will do their very utmost to stamp out this most undesirable and dangerous practice.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. B. EUAN-SMITH.

Inclosure 2 in No. 14.

Mr. G. Mackenzie to Sir C. Euan-Smith.

Sir, *Mombasa, January* 29, 1889.

RUNAWAY slaves. With reference to my letters of the 23rd November, 1888, and 5th instant, regarding the future arrangements in connection with runaway slaves, I now inclose copies of further correspondence which has since passed between the representative of the Church Missionary Society at Frere Town and myself on this subject.

You will observe the reply I have received evades the direct points I am anxious to have cleared up and placed beyond all doubt, viz.:—

1. That there is not at the present time a single runaway harboured at any of the Mission stations who have not received either permanent certificates of residence, or papers of freedom granted by their masters. The latter is the more important.

2. That stringent measures will henceforth be adopted to prevent the possibility of runaways finding shelter at any of their Mission stations.

Should these two points not be insisted upon, I feel confident that all the trouble and money the Company has expended to settle this dangerous question will be wasted.

In the event of the evil I have had to deal with reappearing, I fear there will be trouble with the Arab masters, which must prove disastrous to the Mission Societies.

In face of what is now taking place in German territory, it behoves our missionaries to be very guarded not to give natives any excuse to stir up strife, and so to oppose the peaceful operations of this Company.

I would earnestly beg of you, therefore, to obtain from the several Mission stations around Mombasa the assurances I have asked for, and which, for some unaccountable reason, they appear so reluctant to give me.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE S. MACKENZIE.

Inclosure 3 in No. 14.

Rev. W. Salter-Price to Mr. G. Mackenzie.

Dear Sir, *Frere Town, January* 14, 1889.

I BEG to acknowledge yours of the 5th January, which was not received by me until the 10th January.

1. I much regret that your letter which, being official, is to be read by other eyes than mine, is calculated to give a very wrong impression as to our action in regard to the runaways at Rabai, &c. Any one reading it, not being acquainted with all the facts of the case, would naturally conclude that we, or, at least I, as representing the Church Missionary Society, have been guilty of knowingly breaking the law, and of harbouring runaways, which can mean nothing less than encouraging slaves to run away from their masters, and to take refuge in our Mission settlements—that if I have done anything to facilitate the settlement of this troublesome business, which you do not even acknowledge, it has been done under compulsion, and that strong measures are necessary on your part to keep us from transgressing in the future.

2. Now nobody knows better than yourself that this is not the case. You know that I was quite as ready as you to do full justice to the slave-owners, and that when it came to be a question of compensation, I would have much preferred to take the responsibility on myself, and only waived my claim because I felt it would be a good stroke of policy on the part of the Company to do it, and so help to smooth over their difficulties with the Arabs.

We have worked together so cordially and harmoniously from first to last that I regret exceedingly you should, in an official letter, have placed us, unwittingly I cannot but hope, in such a false position. I trust, in your sense of fairness, to repair this wrong by some clear statement, in your communications with the authorities, of your convictions, which I feel sure you cannot but have, that although we have, not reluctantly, but *con amore*, co-operated with you in bringing this difficult affair to a peaceful settlement.

I care nothing for the calumnies and misrepresentations which circulate in

Zanzibar, and some of which are sensational enough to find their way into English papers. They will be easily disposed of when the true story is told, as it must be before long. I *do* care that you, at least, who have had better opportunity of knowing, should do us the simple justice of acknowledging that we have done all in our power to carry out loyally what we were agreed upon it was right under the circumstances to do.

3. I have no reason to doubt that all the Wataro actually in our Mission station at the time responded to our summons, and have been dealt with. Some even who were already free men came forward and had to be sent away.

4. As regards preventative measures for the future, you are already aware that I have appointed a European lay missionary, Mr. Burness, to have charge of the station of Rabai, and under him four Askaris, who have strict orders not to allow any Wataro to take refuge in the place. If the persons who complain to you will just simply follow your advice and apply to Mr. Burness, they will be courteously treated and every opportunity will be given them of ascertaining if their slaves are there or not, and if they are, of obtaining them. There is one point in regard to which I must ask you to excuse me not acting on your suggestion. I cannot employ Church Missionary Society's Askari to catch runaways and hand them over to their masters; all I can do is, refuse them shelter in our settlement.

Yours, &c.

(Signed) W. SALTER-PRICE, *Secretary*,
Church Missionary Society for East Africa.

Inclosure 4 in No. 14.

Rev. H. K. Binns to "Church Missionary Intelligencer."

Dear Sir, *Frere Town, March* 25, 1897.

HAVING seen my name mentioned and my opinions quoted several times, in connection with the slave question, in a way which makes it appear that I favour slavery, which I do not, and that I am opposed to emancipation, which I am not, I will be glad if you will allow me to say a few words to make my position clear to the friends of the Church Missionary Society.

It seems almost superfluous for me to say that the whole of my life spent in Africa has been one long fight on behalf of the slave; first to save him from his master, and secondly to save him from himself. I have stood between the master and his slave—not always to protect the slave. I remember once throwing my arms around an Arab slave-owner, and having his blood run down my clothes in order to protect him from runaway slaves. Good slaves, as a rule, do not run away from their masters, unless the latter are more than usually cruel. The slaves generally run away from one of three causes: either they have committed a theft and feared the consequences; or they were lazy and their masters threatened to punish them; or there was a woman in the case, such as a slave running away with another man's wife; or a slave running away with his own wife because he feared she would be taken from him; but I hardly ever came across a case of a slave having been cruelly beaten, although I have heard of cases.

I write these things to show that, slavery being the law of the land, it does not necessarily follow that the masters are always in the wrong, as many suppose.

When I was asked for my opinion in 1895 I had heard nothing of compensation to the masters, nor of any arrangement for the care and support of the aged and infirm slaves, nor of any regulation by which the younger portion of the slave population might be taken in hand. My opposition to the immediate abolition of slavery was grounded on the fact that, as far as I knew, the persons who were agitating for it had not considered these questions.

I had the pleasure, a few weeks back, of meeting Mr. Newman and Mr. Burtt, who had come out from the Society of Friends to commence missionary work on the Island of Pemba. In conversation with these gentlemen I found that they held practically the same opinions as myself, and I learnt from them that the Government would take steps to provide for the infirm and destitute, and to control the younger portion of the slave population, as well as compensate the masters: this being the case, I have nothing further to say in opposition to the measure.

I do not think the philanthropy of the English nation is likely to end in words, but that there will be a practical outcome in funds being provided for these purposes.

The most important point of all I believe to be that in regard to the rising

generation. The whole of the youthful population, many of whom are fatherless and motherless, and would be, if emancipated, masterless and homeless as well, should be taken off the streets of the coast towns and placed under control—educated, too, I would add, but I fear this is too much to expect, unless the Missionary Societies undertake it. I was speaking to a Government official of high standing not long ago, and he told me that he considered it a great mistake to educate the African; that they were much more easily governed if left ignorant heathen, that cheap education was the curse of India, &c. I do not, however, believe that these opinions are held by Government officials in general, or by the English nation at large. I am hoping, therefore, that when the Government decide upon the abolition of slavery, they will also decide upon some liberal plan by which the slave may be controlled, educated, and raised in the social scale, and I am convinced that the Missionary Societies will do their utmost to place within the reach of all that everlasting Gospel of Grace of God which alone can truly raise the slave here, and make him fit for glory hereafter.

(Signed) HARRY K. BINNS.

No. 15.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir A. Hardinge.

Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 27, 1897.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 8th ultimo, inclosing a Report from the Rev. J. P. Farler on the condition of the Island of Pemba, and I have to express my satisfaction at the measures taken by the Government of Zanzibar to insure the execution of the Decrees abolishing the legal status of slavery.

The instructions, referred to in note 5 to Mr. Farler's Report, to stop all dhows, irrespective of nationality, suspected of slave-trading, will no doubt be carried out with all due respect to the Treaty rights of foreign Powers in Zanzibar.

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 16.

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received December 8.)

My Lord, 55, *New Broad Street, London, December* 6, 1897.

I AM directed by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to forward to your Lordship copy of two letters from Mr. Theodore Burtt, a corresponding member of this Society, now resident in Pemba, where he is engaged in establishing an Industrial Mission on behalf of the Society of Friends.

These letters, dated respectively Pemba, the 24th September and 21st October last, show in the clearest possible manner that the Abolition Decree issued on the 6th April last in the name of the Sultan of Zanzibar, and under special instructions from your Lordship, has lamentably broken down, owing to its being left largely in the hands of native slave-holding Arabs to carry out.

I am to call your Lordship's attention to a Minute of this Committee, dated the 4th June last, thanking Her Majesty's Government for the steps already taken towards carrying out the abolition of the legal status of slavery in the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, but pointing out that clauses existed in the Decree of the 5th April last, which the Committee considered were inconsistent with a state of complete abolition.

These clauses—

(*a.*) The provision rendering the Abolition Decree inapplicable to concubines.

(*b.*) Compensation to slave-owners.

(A measure which this Society has always consistently opposed.)

(*c.*) The delegation of powers to native Courts, presided over by slave-owners.

The Committee find from the statements made in the letters of their correspondent that every fear expressed in their Memorial to Her Majesty's Government, as summarized above, has been more than justified, for not only has there been no progress,

or scarcely any, made in the work of abolition, but vexatious and preposterous difficulties have been raised which render it almost impossible to carry out even the very unsatisfactory provisions of the Decree.

Mr. Burtt states that in order to satisfy the demands of the native Courts in Pemba, the unfortunate slaves have to declare why they wish to be free, whether they have any complaint to make against their masters, how, when, and where they became slaves, &c.

When the Wali has obtained this information, and has taken note of the age, height, and other measurements of the slaves, and of special bodily marks, he or she is calmly informed that the same process has to be gone through in Zanzibar before freedom can be obtained, and even after all this the slave may be sent back into slavery!

The Committee would call your Lordship's attention to the fact that none of these frivolous, and to the slave serious, impedimenta are authorized by the Decree of the 6th April last, and they earnestly call upon Her Majesty's Government to immediately sweep them away, as they recently cancelled the Orders, then existing on the mainland strip, for the rendition of fugitive slaves by British officials.

Mr. Burtt states in his letter of the 21st October "that the Dongoni slaves went to Zanzibar to be freed, but, owing to some slight omission on the part of the officials, they were returned to Pemba without being freed."

He adds, however:—

"It is reported that after they returned they were all taken in a dhow to Zanzibar to the French Consul, who freed them at once, Dongoni belonging to the French Roman Catholic Mission."

If this report be correct, the Committee consider that this prompt action on the part of the French Consul stands out in very damaging contrast to that of the British officials in Zanzibar.

I am desired to request that your Lordship will kindly consent to receive, at an early date, a deputation of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and of the Friends' Anti-Slavery Committee and their friends.

The object of the deputation will be to lay before Her Majesty's Government the views held by the Committees respecting the failure of the Decree issued by the Sultan on the 6th April last under the authority of Her Majesty's Representative in Zanzibar, and to urge upon your Lordship the absolute necessity of putting an immediate stop throughout the whole Sultanate of Zanzibar mainland, as well as island, to a state of things which is calculated to bring dishonour upon the whole British nation.

I am directed by the Committee to state that the points which appear to them imperative—if the freedom promised by Her Majesty's Government for the slaves in Zanzibar and Pemba is to be a reality and not a delusion—are the following:—

(*a.*) Complete, absolute, and unconditional emancipation.

(*b.*) That all Courts should be presided over by Europeans.

(*c.*) The cancelment of the concubinage clause in the Decree, so that men and women slaves shall stand on the same footing. Legal wives are, of course, not slaves, and do not come under any clause in the Decree.

(*d.*) That the same Regulations shall be simultaneously carried out on the whole of the mainland strip now rented by Great Britain from the Sultan.

(*e.*) That slaves shall not be required to go from Pemba to Zanzibar in order to obtain their freedom.

It having been shown that the system of giving compensation to slave-owners tends to retard and complicate the carrying out of abolition, I am directed by the Committee to renew their protest against the introduction of this measure into the Decree of the 6th April last.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHAS. H. ALLEN, *Secretary.*

Inclosure 1 in No. 16.

Letters from Mr. T. Burtt.

Friends' Industrial Mission, Pemba, Zanzibar,
September 4, 1897.

"My dear Sir,

"I WISH it were possible to give you fuller information on the subject of emancipation in these islands, but here it is impossible to get information as to what the authorities in Zanzibar are doing in regard to the abolition of slavery, or how many slaves are being freed, or what compensation is being given to their so-called owners. All I can say with any certainty is what I see and hear myself in Pemba.

"At the present time there are three Europeans on the island besides H. Armitage and myself, the employment of two of these being unconnected with judicial matters or the abolition of slavery (although they are both strong abolitionists). The other, Mr. J. P. Farler, is doing his utmost, but I understand that his powers and authority are so very limited that he cannot do as much as he would. Neither is it at all possible for one Englishman to see that justice is done over all the island, which, though only small, offers serious difficulties in regard to communication between one place and another, as roads and bridges are still unknown.

"The compensation claim may possibly have done a good deal towards keeping the island in a state of quiet immediately after the passing of the Decree, but it certainly has complicated and hindered the abolition of slavery very seriously, and, I think, the sooner all such compensation is done away with the better. The first (I believe) batch of Pemba slaves who have to be valued for compensation to their masters left here for Zanzibar this week.

"It is by no means easy to get definite particulars in regard to concubines. But amongst a population where there are perhaps five women to every man, and the religious laws of both Arabs and negro allow an unlimited number of concubines, and morality is a thing unknown, it cannot be difficult for an Arab to get plenty of concubines amongst his female slaves. Yet, according to the Decree of the 6th April, when once a woman is made a concubine there is absolutely no chance of her regaining her freedom so long as her master is reasonably humane or prevents her making any complaint. I believe that under no circumstances would an Arab send out one of his concubines to earn money as a prostitute, and I think it very doubtful if he would send any of his female slaves. Nevertheless, cases of gross cruelty do exist. Only a few days ago a case came under my notice in which a young female slave refused either to allow her master to seduce her or to be made one of his concubines, and terribly had the poor girl to suffer at his hands in consequence. Complaint was made to the Wali, but no redress obtained, and I presume she has had to submit and suffer.

"The apparent readiness there was on the part of the Arab officials some time ago to carry out the Decree of the 6th April seems now to be at an end. Under compulsion they will act, but I have every reason to believe that in a great many instances the complainant is put in prison for a few days, sometimes under the pretext of further inquiries, and then sent back to the master. The case of the complainant is then, of course, far worse than before, and others who have good reason to complain prefer to submit and remain in their present condition rather than risk a worse fate.

"If I understand the Decree of the 6th April aright, all complaints made by a slave against his or her master, and all complaints made by a master against his slave, must come before the District Court, and before that alone; the said District Court being usually presided over by an Arab slave-owner, who from the bottom of his heart despises both the law and the negro, and has never yet come to understand the first principles of justice, neither has he the slightest desire to see justice done or freedom given to those by whose labour and degradation he lives in idleness. So long as the Arab official made a reasonable attempt to give justice, the Decree was a great boon to the negro. But now there seems to be no such attempt to give justice, and the sooner the British Government and the British public realize that the ordinary Arab official is absolutely incapable of administering justice, the better will it be for the negro and the prosperity of the island.

"Last week I visited the prison here, and found three female slaves heavily ironed, who stated that their master had not given them proper food, and when they asked to be allowed to go into the town, and find work and earn money for their food and for him, he refused and ordered them to go and work on his shamba. This they declined to do, and came and complained to the Wali, who forthwith committed them

to prison for seven days, with shackles on their legs, for refusing to work for their master. On the Wali being questioned as to the cause of their imprisonment, he admitted it was for the offence stated above. And when asked if this was not contrary to the law, he said he knew it was, and then remarked, 'But then the women don't know that they can be free!' He promised, however, that they should be set at liberty at once; but when I next inquired they were still in prison.

"I noticed a man in prison also, heavily ironed, and with an ugly gash across the back of his head, which had been inflicted by an Askari. It appears that this man was found in company with another man who was accused of stealing. Both men were arrested, put in prison, and ironed. No trial seems to have been held concerning this case at all.

"This morning I heard that a woman had been sent by her master to work on another Arab's shamba. Having good reason to believe that she was being sold, she ran away and complained to the Wali. He called in both the Arabs, who protested that she was not being sold. The Wali accepted their statement, and sent the woman off with her new master. There is every reason to believe that this is a clear case of slave-dealing, but, instead of the Arab official preventing it, he gave his countenance to the transaction.

"I also saw a middle-aged negro this morning whose master had attempted to make him into an eunuch, but the man escaped and appealed to the Wali, but no redress was obtainable.

"Yesterday I went to call upon Mr. Farler, who had just returned from the north of the island, hoping to obtain some information from him on the slavery question, but found that he had heard that slaves were being kidnapped and put on board a dhow on the east coast, so he hurried across the island in the hope of stopping it. This morning I met him returning with his followers, and understood his expedition had been attended with success.

"After carefully studying the Native Courts Regulations, which are likely to come into force on the 2nd October, I fail to see how they are to help the negro, as the power of administering justice, or injustice, will still be in the hands of the Arab slave-owners.

"There is every reason to believe that the Sultan and the English officials of the Zanzibar Government are doing all they can to carry out abolition; but, under present conditions, it is impossible either to bring slavery to an end or to establish justice. What we need is a radical change of the whole system of governing the island, and until we get this there is but small hope of freedom for the people.

"Believe me, &c.

(Signed) "THEODORE BURTT.

"Charles H. Allen, Esq."

Friends' Industrial Mission, Pemba, Zanzibar,
October 21, 1897.

"Dear Mr. Brooks,

"SINCE writing on the 11th instant, much time and attention have been given to the question of the people now residing on our estate ('Banani'), and by what means they can obtain their freedom, as the Decree of the 6th April does not seem to be in working.

"On the 11th a letter was sent to Mr. Farler, asking how their freedom could be obtained, and, at his request, we had a conversation with him on the subject next evening.

"We were told that the slaves would have to go before the Wali and give him full information as to why they wished to be free, whether they had any complaint against their master, how, when, and where they became his slaves. All this information must be taken down by the Wali, with a full description of each person, his or her height, colour, length of arm, age, tribe, and any marks upon the body, or other peculiarities.

"The slave must then be sent to Zanzibar, where he will be again subjected to an examination, and valued for the benefit of his owner. If every detail has been properly carried out he may expect to receive papers of freedom, or some time later to be returned to Pemba. We were also informed that the owner has a right to seize his slaves if working on another shamba, and that such an act would be supported by the Wali.

"If these things are so, the Decree of the 6th April has become, like its predecessors, practically a dead letter. The slaves are naturally prejudiced against the Wali, who, in their minds, is associated with the prison and the shackles, and they will not go before him if they can help it, and to go to Zanzibar is like transportation.

"The Dongoni slaves went to Zanzibar to be freed, but, owing to some slight omission on the part of the officials, they were returned to Pemba without being freed. It is reported that after they returned they were all taken in a dhow to Zanzibar to the French Consul, who freed them at once, Dongoni belonging to the French Roman Catholic Mission. This information, of course, we did not obtain from British officials.

"Unless slaves are cruelly treated, or well backed up by some Englishman, there seems now to be small chance of their freedom.

"At Mr. Farler's request, I wrote him a full account of these Banani people, which he said he would send to Zanzibar. He also asked that they might be sent to Tundana, where he would interview them himself.

"On the 15th the people appeared before him at 9 A.M., and I arrived shortly afterwards. The first person I met there was Rashid-bin-Salim, coming out of the house of Mr. Farler's clerk. What his business was at Tundana no one seemed to know.

"The slaves did not seem to mind whether they were freed or not, so long as they might be allowed to remain in their homes at Banani with their families and work on the shamba. They said they wished to be transferred to the new owners with the land, as they were when Rashid bought it two or three years ago. Mr. Farler explained to them that, as we could not buy them, their only way was to become free, to accomplish which they would have to go before the Wali, and then to Zanzibar, at which they were much distressed, one woman, the wife of a freeman, almost becoming hysterical.

"In consequence of the above remark of Mr. Farler, that the slaves were acquired by Rashid with the shamba, we wrote to him (Mr. Farler), saying that, if such was the case, the people were free, as the transaction was illegal, having taken place since 1890.

"The note we received in reply was far from satisfactory, saying that 'such case would have to be legally tried before the District Court and properly proved before action could be taken. It would have to be shown clearly to the Court by each person, with proper witnesses, that he or she had been sold contrary to the Decree. A mere verbal statement was worth nothing in the eye of the law.'

"From this you will see some of the obstacles thrown in the way of the poor slave. What does he know about proving things before a Court of Law, or how to get witnesses, or how is he likely to know anything about the sale in which he was the mere chattel? All he can do is to give a 'verbal statement,' and 'that is worth nothing in the eye of the law.' Mr. Farler further goes on to state that he 'has been making inquiry,' and was told that Rashid did not buy the slaves with the shamba. This statement we do not for one moment believe. We are now endeavouring to obtain the slaves' freedom on account of their being illegally held, as being, if we can prove it, the shortest way to freedom.

"What is really the law in regard to the abolition of slavery we do not know, as we are told that the officials have received instructions recently which appear to be totally at variance with the Decree of April. But exactly what these instructions are we cannot learn, and we have written Sir Arthur Hardinge on the subject, and await his reply.

"We find the officials here are sadly ignorant as to the contents of both the recent Decree and former ones, and they never appear to have a copy with them, so we have ordered 100 copies of that of the 6th April to be printed in English and Arabic at the 'Gazette' office in Zanzibar. If the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society could supply us with a few copies of the various Treaties, Decrees, Agreements, &c., that have been passed on the subject of slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba, they would be of great service to us in dealing with the officials.

"Mr. Farler has informed us that he has received complaints from a number of Arabs that their slaves have run away to Banani. He says 'I hope you will not allow runaways to make Banani their residence, and refuse to receive them until they are legally declared free, and their masters paid their compensation money.' Of course, we take no notice of such communications, except to preserve them for future reference.

"I believe all the Banani people, with their children, are still on the shamba, and most of them still working for us.

"Thine sincerely,
(Signed) "THEODORE BURTT."

Inclosure 2 in No. 16.

Advance Sheet, "Anti-Slavery Reporter," December 1897.

SLAVES IN ZANZIBAR AND PEMBA.

Another Letter from Mr. T. Burtt.

SINCE our illustrated pamphlet was printed, we have received the following most important information from Mr. Theodore Burtt, dated Pemba, 21st October, 1897.

The letter was addressed to Mr. Edward Wright Brooks, the Honorary Secretary of the Friends' Anti-Slavery Committee, by whom it was kindly placed at our disposal the day after its receipt, on the 28th November. By this means we were able to procure its publication in the "Times" of the 30th November, and the news of the complete breakdown of the carrying out of the Abolition Decree of the 6th April, 1897, will soon be known all the world over. We trust our readers will be so good as to carefully notice the numerous preposterous restrictions now placed by the Sultan's Government in Zanzibar (of which General Sir Lloyd Mathews is Prime Minister), in the way of the poor slaves seeking for freedom. Mr. Farler, of whom Mr. Burtt has so much to say, was formerly a distinguished member of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, but, as he has now accepted service under the Sultan of Zanzibar, he is not a British official nor a "Magistrate," as he has been sometimes called.

Indeed, it would appear from Mr. Burtt's interesting letter that no British official has anything to do with the carrying out of the abolition in Pemba.

In the very unsatisfactory Decree of the 6th April, 1897, there is no mention of Pemba slaves being obliged to proceed to Zanzibar, in order to obtain their freedom, though they appear to have been told by Mr. Farler that this was absolutely necessary. Mr. Burtt mentions a case of a cargo of slaves, who were sent to Zanzibar to obtain their freedom, but were returned to Pemba still in slavery. As, however, they came from the French Roman Catholic Mission, they were afterwards set free by the French Consul! What an object lesson to us Englishmen!

What is really the law in regard to the abolition of slavery we do not know, as we are told that the officials have received instructions recently which appear to be totally at variance with the Decree of April.

But exactly what these instructions are we cannot learn; we have written Sir Arthur Hardinge on the subject, and await his reply. We find the officials here are sadly ignorant as to the contents of both the recent Decree and former ones, and they never appear to have a copy with them. So we have ordered 100 copies of that of the 6th April to be printed in English and Arabic at the "Gazette" office in Zanzibar. If the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society could supply us with a few copies of the various Treaties, Decrees, Agreements, &c., that have been passed on the subject of slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba, they would be of great service to us in dealing with the officials.

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He says, "I hope you will not allow runaways to make Banani their residence, and refuse to receive them until they are legally declared free, and their masters paid their compensation money." Of course, we take no notice of such communications except to preserve them for future reference.

* Banani is the "shamba" recently purchased by the "Friends" for their Industrial Mission. Of course they would not and could not purchase slaves on the estate, but even according to the terms of the April Decree they ought to be free.

"I believe all the Banani people, with their children, are still on the shamba, and most of them still working for us.

"Thine sincerely,
(Signed) "THEODORE BURTT.

"To E. W. Brooks."

Inclosure 3 in No. 16.

[Second Issue.]

SLAVES IN ZANZIBAR AND PEMBA

(*After the issue of the Abolition Decree in April*, 1897).

[Sketch of some of the present "Wards" of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and Friends' Anti-Slavery Committee: not reproduced.]

ON the 7th April, 1897, the Sultan of Zanzibar issued an Abolition Edict for the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba.

The above sketch, from a photograph forwarded to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society by Mr. Theodore Burtt, forms a very striking object lesson as to the manner in which the abolition of slavery is carried out in the British Protectorate of Zanzibar.

Mr. Burtt and Mr. Armitage are two missionaries, who have been sent out to Pemba by the Society of Friends, with the view of forming an Industrial Free Labour Mission in Pemba.

The following extracts from a letter written by Mr. Theodore Burtt on the 4th September, 1897, and addressed to Mr. Charles H. Allen, Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, afford an undeniable proof that so long as the carrying out of the Abolition Edict is left in the hands of the Arab slave-holders, to whom the power has been delegated by a Supplemental Decree issued in April 1897 by the Sultan of Zanzibar, with the approval of Her Majesty's Representative in Zanzibar and of the Sultan's Prime Minister, General Sir Lloyd Mathews, so long may we expect to find that free labour will be comparatively unknown—at any rate in the Island of Pemba.

Extracts from Theodore Burtt's Letter.

". . . . The sooner the British Government and the British public realize that the ordinary Arab official is absolutely incapable of administering justice, the better will it be both for the negro and the prosperity of the island.

"Last week I visited the prison here, and found three female slaves heavily ironed, who stated that their master had not given them proper food, and when they asked to be allowed to go into the town and find work and earn money for their food and for him, he refused and ordered them to go and work on his shamba. This they declined to do, and came and complained to the Wali, who forthwith committed them to prison for seven days, with shackles on their legs, for refusing to work for their master. On the Wali being questioned as to the cause of their imprisonment, he admitted it was for the offence stated above.

"When asked if this was not contrary to the law, he said he knew it was, and then remarked, 'But then the women don't know that they can be free!' He promised, however, that they should be set at liberty at once; but when I next inquired they were still in prison!

"I noticed a man in prison also, heavily ironed, and with an ugly gash across the back of his head which had been inflicted by an 'Askari.' It appears that this man was found in company with another man who was accused of stealing. Both men were arrested, put in prison, and ironed. No trial seems to have been held concerning this case at all.

"This morning I heard that a woman had been sent by her master to work on another Arab's shamba. Having good reason to believe that she was being sold, she

ran away and complained to the Wali. He called in both the Arabs, who protested that she was not being sold. The Wali accepted their statement and sent the woman off with her new master.

"There is every reason to believe that this is a clear case of slave-dealing.

"But instead of the Arab official preventing it he gave his countenance to the transaction.

"It is by no means easy to get definite particulars in regard to concubines. But amongst a population where there are perhaps five women to every man, and the religious laws of both Arab and negro allow an unlimited number of concubines, and morality is a thing unknown, it cannot be difficult for an Arab to get plenty of concubines amongst his female slaves. Yet, according to the Decree of the 6th April, when once a woman is made a concubine there is absolutely no chance of her regaining her freedom, so long as her master is reasonably humane, or prevents her making any complaint!"

(Signed) "THEODORE BURTT.

"*Pemba, September* 4, 1897."

Slavery in Zanzibar also.

The Universities' Mission to Central Africa publishes the following startling announcement from a correspondent, who writes from Zanzibar, as follows:—

"There is no visible difference here in the status of the slaves than there was before the Proclamation was issued. Only this morning (5th August) a slave was brought past this house in charge of a soldier, to be restored to his master after running away! I understand that a slave who runs away from his master is quickly hunted down and put into prison, for no other reason than a struggle for freedom!"

No. 17.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir A. Hardinge.

Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 15, 1897.

WITH reference to my communication of the 20th September, and in further reply to your despatch of the 5th July, on the subject of the obligations of British officials in the East Africa Protectorate with regard to the restoration of slaves to their owners within the territory of the Sultan of Zanzibar, I have consulted the Law Officers of the Crown.

I am advised that the manner of enforcement of the local law as to slaves in the Seyyidieh should be modified as far as can be done consistently with good faith.

The issue of search warrants should be discontinued. It has not been shown that there is any obligation on the British Administration to give active assistance of this kind for the recovery of fugitive slaves, and it appears to me that it may be discontinued without any breach of the promise to maintain the law of Islam.

If the question whether any person is a slave is brought into Court the Judge must of course decide in accordance with the local law if the facts establish slavery. So long as slavery exists judgment might, for instance, properly be given against any man who forcibly detained slaves belonging to another person, and probably damages would be recoverable against anyp erson who enticed them away or harboured them. But where slaves have escaped the owner should be left to recapture them himself, every precaution being taken against abuse in the way of cruelty to the person seized or seizing the wrong person.

The subject is undoubtedly a most difficult one, but it is probably true, as you remark, that any difficulty which may arise in a particular case may bring with it its own solution.

The Courts must, of course, recognize as lawful the detention of a slave by his master, and restrain any other person from forcibly interfering with his property, and give damages in suitable cases. But the law of Islam may be recognized in this respect without employing the police to assist actively in the work of capturing slaves.

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 18.

Mr. Cave to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(*Received December* 16.)

My Lord, *Zanzibar, November* 13, 1897.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copy of a letter which I have received from the gentleman in charge of the Friends' Industrial Mission at Pemba, and of my reply thereto, with reference to certain natives residing on the estate recently purchased by that Mission near Chaki-Chaki, who are said to be the slaves of the late owner of the property, but who, according to Mr. Burtt, do not wish to leave their present homes or to work for their master any longer.

I have been privately informed that some of the members of this Mission, more especially Mr. Burtt, are likely to cause some trouble by obstructing the working of the Anti-Slavery Decree in Pemba, and that they have already given great offence to the Arabs by encouraging the above-mentioned slaves to remain on the Mission settlement, in disobedience to their master, without making any move towards obtaining their freedom in the proper way, but I trust that when they come to reconsider the matter they will see that, by so doing, they are not only giving rise to a regrettable and quite unnecessary feeling of soreness on the part of the slave-owners, but are acting in direct opposition to the best interests of the slaves themselves.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BASIL S. CAVE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 18.

Mr. T. Burtt to Sir A. Hardinge.

Friends' Industrial Mission, Pemba, Zanzibar,
Dear Sir, *October* 21, 1897.

ON the shamba recently purchased by the above Mission there are a number of negroes who have resided there for some time, and are now in the regular employment of the Mission. These people are said to be the slaves of the late owner of the shamba. They have expressed a strong wish to remain in their own homes, and continue to be employed on the shamba.

Will you be good enough to inform us if the late owner has any power to effect their removal from their homes against their wish, or whether any local authority possesses such power?

We should also be glad to know what means are necessary for these people to obtain their legal freedom, in accordance with the Decree of the 6th April, 1897? And whether we are correctly informed that it is necessary for these people to go to Zanzibar that their so-called owner may be compensated before they are granted their freedom; or whether they are, by virtue of the Decree, free now, and it rests with the so-called owner to apply for compensation if he wishes after the people are free; and for him to prove that he has by the application of the Decree been deprived of them, and that he was, before the passing of the Decree, legally entitled to hold them in slavery?

The terror in the minds of many of these people, in having to appear before the Wali of Chaki-Chaki, and then being sent to Zanzibar, is such that, if this course is really necessary, the Decree of the 6th April last becomes a dead letter.

Replies to the above question, at an early date, will greatly oblige.

Yours, &c.
(On behalf of the Friends' Industrial Mission),
(Signed) THEODORE BURTT.

P.S.—Many, if not all these people, state that their owner acquired them at the same time as he purchased the shamba, about two years ago. If this is so, are they not already free, inasmuch as they were acquired since the Treaty of 1890?

T. B.

Inclosure 2 in No. 18.

Mr. Cave to Mr. T. Burtt.

Sir, *Zanzibar, November* 9, 1897.

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st ultimo, in which you inform me that there are a number of natives residing on the shamba, recently purchased by the Friends' Industrial Mission at Pemba, who are said to be the slaves of the late proprietor of the estate, and who are anxious to obtain their freedom and to remain in their old homes. You inquire at the same time what steps it may be necessary to take in order that their object may be attained.

From the wording of Articles 1 and 2 of the Decree, published by His Highness the Sultan on the 1st of Zilkada (6th April last), it is clear that neither the late owner of the the shamba himself, nor any local authority acting on his behalf, can effect the removal of these natives from their homes against their will. In Article 1 it is stated that "all claims of whatever description made . . . . in respect of the alleged relations of master and slave shall be referred to the District Court within whose jurisdiction they may arise," and in Article 2, "the District Court shall decline to enforce any alleged rights over the body, service, or property of any person on the ground that such person is a slave."

The District Court, therefore, is the only authority to which any application can be addressed with regard to the alleged slaves, either by the slaves themselves or by the person who claims them, but that Court cannot enforce over the person of a slave, because he is a slave, any such alleged right as his compulsory removal from one place to another.

It follows from what I have already stated that, in order to obtain their freedom, such of the persons resident on your shamba as are slaves must make an application to the District Court presided over by the Wali of Chaki-Chaki, who will take any further steps which may be necessary with regard to both the issue of the proper papers and the payment to the owner of whatever compensation may, on inquiry, be found to be due to him. The making of this application should, if the matter is properly represented to them, possess no terrors for the natives to whom you refer, for their interests will be in every way safeguarded, and there will be no necessity for them to be sent to Zanzibar. If, however, these people are still afraid of applying to the Wali on their own behalf, a request addressed to either Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Pemba or to the Commissioner of the Zanzibar Government will insure the cases being brought before the proper Court with as little delay as possible, and with little or no trouble to the applicants.

The object attained by the Decree of the 1st of Zilkada was not the total abolition of slavery, but the abolition of its legal status. Slaves, therefore, though entitled to obtain their freedom by applying for it under the Decree, are not *ipso facto* free until such application has been made. This will equally hold good in the case of persons who, as suggested in the postscript to your letter under reply, have been acquired since the promulgation of the Decree of 1890, and are therefore illegally held, but in the latter case the master can have no possible claim to compensation.

You will, I think, agree with me that it is to the interest of the people in whose behalf you write to have their freedom duly effected and registered by the Court which has been appointed for that purpose, and I would appeal to you, both on their account and in order that no unnecessary friction may be caused between the Government of Zanzibar and His Highness' subjects, to use your influence whenever it is possible to persuade natives to apply for their freedom, should they wish to do so, in the manner prescribed by the Decree, and so lend your assistance to the proper fulfilment of the object for which that Decree was framed.

I am, &c.
(Signed) BASIL S. CAVE.

No. 19.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir A. Hardinge.

Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 31, 1897.

I TRANSMIT to you copies of correspondence with the Anti-Slavery Society as well as of certain publications issued by them, respecting slavery in Pemba,* and I have to request you to forward them to Vice-Consul O'Sullivan with instructions to furnish a report on the subject with as little delay as possible.

I shall be glad also to receive any observations that you may care to address to me yourself, concerning the operation of the Sultan's Decrees either in Zanzibar or in Pemba.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 20.

Foreign Office to British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 4, 1898.

I AM directed by the Marquess of Salisbury to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 6th ultimo respecting slavery in Pemba, and I am to express to you his Lordship's regret that he is unable to fix any date for receiving a deputation to discuss the matter.

The statements submitted by you will, however, receive careful consideration.

Her Majesty's Government are about to publish an official Report by Mr. O'Sullivan on the Island of Pemba and the operation there of the Slavery Decree,† and inquiry will be made with regard to the allegations contained in the correspondence sent by the Society, concerning many of which no confirmation is to be found in the information that has so far been received by Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) FRANCIS BERTIE.

No. 21.

Sir A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received January 31.)

My Lord, *Zanzibar, January* 3, 1898.

MR. CAVE referred your Lordship's despatch of 5th November, 1897,‡ containing a letter from Mr. Theodore Burtt to Mr. J. Pease, M.P., respecting the Arab officials in Pemba, to Her Majesty's Vice-Consul in that island, and I took advantage of a visit which I have just paid to Chaki-Chaki to hold an inquiry, in conjunction with Dr. O'Sullivan, into the facts therein alleged, on which I have now the honour to report as follows:—

In the course of an interview which I had on the 1st instant with the Wali of Chaki-Chaki, Sheikh Suleiman-bin-Mubarak, I informed him that certain charges of illegal imprisonment, denial of justice, &c., had been made against him by Mr. Burtt in a letter which had been published by the Anti-Slavery Society—for your Lordship is probably aware that a letter from Mr. Burtt to the Secretary of that body reproducing *totidem verbis* the accusations made by him in his communication to Mr. Pease, and accompanied by a photograph of women alleged to have been imprisoned for the mere crime of asking for their freedom, has been published, as a sort of supplement to the "Anti-Slavery Reporter,"—I added that I should have to inquire, for your Lordship's information, into the facts alleged by Mr. Burtt, and that I should be glad if he could come to the Consulate the following morning and furnish me, if possible, with explanations as to the various cases mentioned in the letter.

The Wali expressed great indignation at the charges, particularly at the statement that he had cynically admitted that he was acting illegally in imprisoning certain women,

* Nos. 6 and 16.

† See "Africa No. 1 (1898)."

‡ Sending inclosures in No. 16.

and he asked that he might be confronted with Mr. Burtt and allowed to put questions to that gentleman, on the understanding, of course, that the latter would be free also to put questions to himself. I said I considered this request only fair, and would arrange with Mr. Burtt accordingly.

Dr. O'Sullivan had meanwhile written to Mr. Burtt to ask him to give further particulars as to the various cases of injustice and maladministration attributed by him to the Wali, so that we might, if possible, get hold of the persons referred to for the purpose of the inquiry, and be able to examine them in the presence both of Mr. Burtt and of the Wali and ascertain the true facts of each case, and I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy of Mr. Burt's reply.

On the evening of the 1st instant I received a visit from Mr. Burtt, and his colleague of the Friends' Mission, Mr. Armitage. Just as they were leaving I mentioned to Mr. Burtt that I had spoken that morning to the Wali about the charges of maladministration made against him, and that he had asked to be confronted with his accusers: and I requested Mr. Burtt to be good enough to attend the inquiry which I proposed to hold into the matter and to bring his intrepreter with him. The latter's presence I considered very important, as at the time when he formulated these charges against the Wali, Mr. Burtt was quite ignorant of any of the native languages, and depended for his information, and for the statements attributed to the Wali, and to other natives questioned by him, on his interpreter, who is, I am informed, a Freretown Mission boy, with a very imperfect knowledge of English. Mr. Burtt replied that it would suit his convenience to attend the inquiry at 9 A.M. on the following morning, but demurred to producing his interpreter. I pointed out that the latter's evidence was very material, as he was the channel through whom Mr. Burtt had received the charges published by him against the Wali, and that if he declined to let me examine him, I should have to enter the fact on my notes. I begged him to consider the matter, and let me have a reply at his convenience.

Late that evening I received from him the letter of which I inclose a copy, declining to produce his interpreter, and asking to be excused from attending my inquiry. To this I sent the reply of which I have also the honour to inclose a copy. He replied next day in a further letter, of which a copy is also inclosed.

I conceive that according to the ordinary rules of justice such a reply would have justified me in at once dismissing the charges as unsubstantiated. The Wali, as the incriminated person, had challenged Mr. Burtt to come forward and produce his evidence. His refusal to do so, and his reference to a somewhat vague letter containing such statements as "the Wali should be able to give you all particulars as to the reasons for the imprisonment," "the Wali's Memoranda will no doubt furnish full particulars," &c., threw the whole *onus probandi* not on the accuser, but on the accused, and I might therefore, I think, fairly have declined to pursue the matter further.

I decided, however, that it would be more satisfactory, in the Wali's own interest, if he really were innocent, to go on with the charges, notwithstanding the refusal of their author to come forward and prove them, and I accordingly took them one by one in the order given in Mr. Burtt's letter, Dr. O'Sullivan being present, as well as the Wali, at the inquiry, with the following result:—

1. *Alleged attempted seduction and cruelty by an Arab to a slave girl, and refusal of redress by the Wali.*—This charge was disproved by the evidence of the girl herself, a young woman of the name of Hamida. She stated that she was the slave of a certain Binti Abdulrahim, an Arab lady living at Ole, near Chaki-Chaki, whose brother, Masoud, had for some time been violently in love with her, and whose mistress she had been rather more than a year ago. Whilst disliking his advances, she had not resisted or in any way protested against them; but although she acquiesced in them, she felt no affection whatever for him, Masoud being, I should mention, a very plain-looking, middle-aged Arab. She lived in his sister's house, which was close to his, but he used occasionally to come there and take her home with him, mounting her on his own donkey, whilst he himself trotted on foot by her side. About three months ago he had come there and asked his sister to let him make Hamida his regular concubine, according to Mahommedan law. The sister, whose slave she was, had refused, alleging the girl's unwillingness; but some time afterwards a rumour had reached her that Masoud meant, if he could attain his end in no other way, to abduct her by force, and the girl, alarmed at this, had appealed to the Wali for protection. Masoud, on being summoned, had produced four witnesses, who swore that Hamida was already his concubine, on the ground apparently that she had been legally his slave and not his sister's, and had already had carnal connexion with him. The Wali, however, disregarded this evidence, and on the girl's declaring that she wished to return to Binti Abdulrahim, and to have nothing to do with Masoud, had told her that she was free to go back to her mistress, and should not be molested by Masoud, since when

she had suffered no further importunities at the hands of her unwelcome admirer. In stating, therefore, that "the poor girl had had to suffer terribly in consequence," that "no redress came from the Wali," and that "I presume she has had to submit and suffer," Mr. Burtt was very far from correct.

2. *Women slaves ironed for refusing to work for their master.*—Four women in fetters were photographed for the Anti-Slavery Society by Mr. Armitage. Their names are Kadam Khair, Haliwi, Faida, and Sila Moja. With respect to them the Wali stated that the three first were originally slaves of one Abdulrahim-bin-Rashid-el-Maskeri, and were, together with a fourth fellow-slave, named Latifeh, employed by an Indian in the town of Chaki-Chaki. Formerly they used to send a portion of their earnings, in accordance with the old custom of the days of slavery, to their master, but as they ceased after a time to do so, he sent to them to return to his estate and work there, and on their refusal complained to the Wali. The Wali said he could not compel them to work for their master, but he sent for the women, and asked them what their present means of subsistence were, pointing out that they could not live on the streets, but must earn their living by some regular employment. It appeared that they had left the Indian who originally employed them, and were at present without any work, and the Wali thereupon told them that he would give them three days in which to find employment, and that if at the end of that time they could not show that they were earning a living, but continued to loaf about the town, he would send them to prison as vagrants. As they did not comply with this condition, they were sent to prison for a week, with the exception of Latifeh, who proved that she had now got employment, and was working for an Indian. In the case, however, of one of these three girls, the Wali committed, though, I believe unwittingly, an injustice, as it appeared from my investigation that she was earning money as a water-carrier for a Bohra. She did not, however, state this at the time, nor did the Bohra come forward, so she shared the imprisonment of the other two, both of whom declined to work either for their former master or for any other employer, and had for some time past been living a vagrant life. On their release from prison all three women obtained work from Indians, and have not been interfered with since. I warned the Wali that in the case of these girls he had been careless, and had rendered himself liable to censure in treating her as a vagrant, when a fuller inquiry would have proved that she was earning money, and was therefore entitled to be discharged by him in the same way as he had discharged the girl Latifeh; but it appears that she neglected from ignorance to explain this fact, otherwise, as he pointed out to me, he would have treated her as he treated Latifeh and as he had treated all three women from the moment that they obtained work on their release. I have no reason, however, to doubt, in view of his decision in the case of Latifeh, that he was acting under a real misapprehension, due partly to the fact that all four girls had originally been employed by an Indian who had since left Pemba for Zanzibar.

The fourth girl who figures in the photograph sent by Mr. Burtt to the Anti-Slavery Society was named Sila Moja, and was undergoing a sentence of imprisonment for assaulting and wounding another woman.

The Wali declares that his alleged admission that his acts "were illegal, but that the women did not know it," is absolutely untrue; and it seems *à priori* improbable, even if he were really conscious of the fact, that he would have made a confession so damaging to himself, to Mr. Burtt. The latter's only authority for the statement is apparently the assertion of his interpreter whom he declined, as your Lordship knows, to permit me to examine. I should mention, in connection with this case, that now that the Chaki-Chaki prison has been repaired and put into proper order, the practice of putting women prisoners or convicts in irons has been stopped. At Zanzibar it ceased some time ago.

3. *Man with an ugly gash inflicted by an Askari for being in company with a man accused of stealing.*—I have traced this man's case with the assistance of Mr. Farler, and find that he is one Juma, of Kaole, near Chaki-Chaki, who, with certain other disorderly characters assaulted the police when they attempted to arrest a thief belonging to his village, and received in the fight with them a cut on the head. I do not know on what ground Mr. Burtt writes that "no trial seems to have been held concerning this case at all."

I have seen the record in the proceedings of the Court of the man's conviction by the Wali, who sentenced him to a month's hard labour for resisting the police in the execution of their duty.

4. *Alleged sale of a woman.*—Mr. Burtt says this is referred to in his letter as a "case he had heard of," but gives no dates and names beyond mentioning that the woman's original owner was a M'pemba, or aboriginal native of the eastern side of the island named Tangeya, which is much as though he were, in making a charge against a judge

at home, to give as his only fact, that one of the parties involved "was said to be a Welshman named Jones." The Wali, however, said that he recollected the incident, that the woman had complained to him that her master wanted to sell her against her will, though the latter had sworn he was merely loaning her services, but that, as she herself objected to it, he (the Wali) had disallowed the arrangement. No record had been kept of the proceedings as there was no regular prosecution but merely an informal complaint by the woman.

The parties could, none of them, be found at short notice, and, as it would have taken some little time and trouble to trace them, and Mr. Burtt admitted to Dr. O'Sullivan that his charge was a hearsay one only, though he had told Mr. Pease that there was "every reason to believe it was a clear case of slave dealing to which the Arab official gave his countenance," I did not consider any further investigation necessary.

5. *Alleged attempt at making a man an eunuch, and refusal to redress by the Wali.*—The only information I was able to obtain with regard to this case was received from Mr. Edib, the Customs Master at Chaki-Chaki, who was acting as Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at the time. He stated that a man had come to see him, and had said that his master had seized him by the testicles and had threatened to castrate him for taking liberties with one of the women of the harem.

Mr. Edib told him to make a complaint to the Wali, but did not know whether he had done so, and had not seen the man again. Mr. Burtt does not give his name or any particulars which would enable us to identify him, and the Wali has no recollection of the case. Mr. Edib, however, states that his Arabic clerk says the Wali was at the Custom-house at the time, though he (Mr. Edib) does not remember his presence there, and that the man went with him to his baraza or hall of audience. It is quite possible that when he got there he may have been lost in the crowd of suitors and petitioners who habitually throng an Arab baraza, and may not have pressed his case. Anyhow, it did not amount to much as there was nothing to show that the master had attempted to carry out his threat, and nothing further has been heard about it. I would, however, point out that the account given by Mr. Edib bears a somewhat different complexion from that suggested in Mr. Burtt's letter. The latter would lead a reader conversant with Eastern customs to suppose that the master meant to mutilate an innocent man for the purpose for which eunuchs were, until lately, ordinarily procured in Eastern countries, *i.e.*, guardianship of the harem, whereas, according to the man's own statement to Mr. Edib, his object was to punish him for suspected tampering with one of his women.

After going into all these charges I informed the Wali that I considered that his explanations were satisfactory, and of a nature to acquit him of them, and I addressed to Mr. Burtt the letter of which I have the honour to send a copy herewith. I may mention that I asked Mr. Burtt, before the inquiry, whether, in view of his sweeping statements about the Arab officials as a class being absolutely incapable of administering justice, he had any complaints to make against others besides the Wali of Chaki-Chaki. He replied that he had not, and added that there was now a "great change for the better."

Mr. Burtt, "after carefully studying the Native Courts Regulations," which were to come into force on the 2nd October, "fails to see how they can help the negro, as the power of administering justice or injustice is still in the hands of the Arab slave-owner." A very superficial study of these Regulations would have made it clear to him that they had nothing to do with Pemba or Zanzibar, being expressly declared to be intended for the East Africa Protectorate (except Witu); that they provided for District, Provincial, and Appellate Courts all presided over by English officials, and that the concurrent jurisdiction allowed in a few Mahommedan coast districts to Mahommedan Magistrates was carefully subordinated to, and controlled by, that of higher European Tribunals.

I cannot but think it very regrettable that Mr. Burtt should, on the strength of suppositions (he keeps saying "I presume," "I have reason to believe," "it seems," &c.), or on that of statements made by prisoners to his interpreter, have made such sweeping and reckless accusations. A prisoner's account of the reason for his imprisonment would in no country be regarded as conclusive—and Mr. Burtt, if he went to Portland or Dartmoor, and conducted his inquiries in the spirit displayed by him in Pemba, would doubtless discover there many innocent and even worthy persons, whose treatment reflected deep discredit on English justice. He should remember that the Walis and the native officials generally have a very difficult and invidious duty to perform in enforcing the Decree of the 6th April, and, on the whole, from all I can learn from Mr. Farler and Dr. O'Sullivan, are performing it very creditably. They have, at the bidding of alien Rulers, to apply a reform which is in the highest degree distasteful to the whole of the educated classes, who form the native public opinion of the country in which they live, and in many instances to issue orders which deprive their own relations and friends of

what they regard as their most sacred rights, and they thus necessarily incur much unpopularity and even odium. The earlier Decrees, on which the question of compensation hinges, have practically till quite lately been unknown in Pemba, and often operate very harshly, from what may be called an equity point of view, in individual cases; allowance should therefore be made for native officials if, as may sometimes be the case, they seem to give their countrymen the benefit of the doubt, or to lean to an interpretation of the law which harmonizes with native conceptions of justice, and they should be rather encouraged, notwithstanding their difficulties, to persevere in their efforts to carry out the instructions of the Government than denounced and threatened in unmeasured language on the slightest suspicion of slackness. They are generally extremely amenable to advice, when tendered in a friendly and sympathetic spirit, and in Pemba they consult Mr. Farler, who has won their confidence and on whom they lean in almost every case of importance. I took the opportunity of strongly impressing, during my last visit to Pemba, on the Wali of Chaki-Chaki the absolute necessity of a firm and impartial administration of the law, even in cases in which it might appear to him to be hard and inequitable, but my efforts to induce the native officials and the land-owners and freemen of the island generally to co-operate honestly with us in making the best of the inevitable will not be helped by such methods as those employed by Mr. Burtt, which can only serve to embitter them against all Europeans and create much resentment and bad blood.

In conclusion, it appears to me that Mr. Burtt overlooks altogether, in his impatience to "bring slavery to an end," the distinction on which much stress has been laid during the controversies on this subject between the "abolition of slavery" and the "abolition of its recognition and enforcement by the Law Courts." The immediate object of the Decree was the latter, not the former, though its effect will no doubt be to bring about the disappearance of both. The wish of Her Majesty's Government being, however, to effect this with a minimum of social disorganisation and disturbance, Mr. Burtt can hardly expect much sympathy from the authorities in the efforts which I hear he is making to precipitate emancipation on a large scale, and to induce slaves who are contented with their present lot to leave their masters and claim their freedom from the Courts. Mr. Farler informs me that a boy complained to him the other day that Mr. Burtt had told him to go to the Court and demand his freedom, which the boy, who said he was attached to his master and did not wish to leave him, to settle on Mr. Burtt's estate, objected to doing. I trust, however, that a closer and more intimate acquaintance with the country and people will bring home to Mr. Burtt and his colleagues, of whose genuine philanthropy I entertain no doubt, the injustice and unwisdom of such tactics.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR H. HARDINGE.

P.S.—Since writing the above despatch I find that I have omitted to mention a point which I had not noticed when I wrote it, but which ought, in justice to Mr. Burtt, to be brought out. On re-reading the Wali's sentence on "Juma" (Mr. Burtt's "man with the gash in his head") I find that it bears date the 1st Jamad-el-Awal, *i.e.*, the 29th September; Mr. Burtt's letters attacking the Wali's administration were written on the 4th September, so that he must have seen the man at the latest on the 3rd September, at which date he had not come up for trial, and if Juma told him, as he doubtless did, that he had done nothing wrong and was in prison without having been tried, the last part of the statement was at the time literally correct. The man seems in fact to have remained nearly a month in prison awaiting trial. Eastern justice, like everything else in hot Oriental countries, is more dilatory than ours, and the fact that the prisoner had been caught *flagrante delicto* may have made his detention untried appear less of a hardship to the native authorities, but I have written to Mr. O'Sullivan to point out to the Wali the importance of disposing of all such cases as promptly as possible so as to minimize the chances of an innocent person being kept in gaol awaiting an inquiry any longer than is absolutely necessary.

A. H. H.

Inclosure 1 in No. 21.

Mr. T. Burtt to Vice-Consul O'Sullivan.

Friends' Industrial Mission, Pemba, Zanzibar,
December 31, 1897.

Dear Sir,

I BEG to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 30th instant, referring to my letter of the 4th September, 1897, addressed to Jos. A. Pease, Esq. (not Sir Joseph

Pease), and asking for names and dates of the cases cited therein. I have pleasure to hand you particulars as below, which should enable you to trace each case mentioned in the above letter:—

Concubine.—The date of this case was the 23rd August, and the woman gave her name as Hamida, the slave of Binti Abdulrahim, living at Ole, and the name of the man who wished to make her a concubine, Masoud-bin-Abdulrahim.

(This case does not appear to be the one you mentioned last evening.)

Three Women-slaves in Irons.—The date when I saw these women was the 27th August, 1897. As they were imprisoned by the Wali, he should be able to give you all the particulars as to the reason for their imprisonment, which, I believe, will be found to agree with my statement.

Man with a Gash on his Head.—Seen same date above, the wound having been inflicted by one of the Wali's Askaris who lives in the town; probably he can furnish the particulars.

Reported Sale of a Woman.—This is referred to in my letter as a case I had heard of. She said her original master was a Wa Pemba [*sic*] named Tengeja.

Attempted Mutilation.—The date of this was the 4th September, and the man was seen by Mr. Herbert Armitage, as well as myself. He (the man) complained to the Wali, whose Memorandum will, no doubt, furnish full particulars.

Believe me, &c.
(Signed) THEODORE BURTT.

Inclosure 2 in No. 21.

Mr. T. Burtt to Sir A. Hardinge.

Friends' Industrial Mission, Pemba, Zanzibar,
Dear Sir, *January* 1, 1898.

I HAVE carefully considered your proposal that I should be present at the Vice-Consulate to-morrow morning (Sunday) during your investigation.

I have perfect confidence that the inquiry will be properly carried out, and unless my presence is absolutely necessary (which, I think, cannot be the case), I would ask you to excuse me from attending.

In regard to the other matter, I consider I have sent to Dr. O'Sullivan, in writing, sufficient particulars to justify my letter; and I must decline to produce the person you referred to. Of course, I cannot object to this being entered on your Minutes.

Believe me, &c.
(Signed) THEODORE BURTT

Inclosure 3 in No. 21.

Sir A. Hardinge to Mr. T. Burtt.

Dear Mr. Burtt, *Chaki-Chaki, January* 1, 1898.

I HAVE received your letter of this evening.

I should not have pressed for your presence, or for that of your interpreter, but for the fact that the Wali has asked to be confronted with both of you as his accusers. You must surely realise that you have made a serious charge against him as the Sultan's Representative, and that his character is at stake. Of course, I cannot compel you to put in an appearance, but if you are not prepared, when challenged by the Wali, to come forward and substantiate the charges of maladministration which have been made by you against him in a letter communicated to the Foreign Office by Mr. Pease, I can only, in justice to him, dismiss them as unsupported, and report to Her Majesty's Government accordingly.

Believe me, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR H. HARDINGE.

Inclosure 4 in No. 21.

Mr. T. Burtt to Sir A. Hardinge.

Friends' Industrial Mission, Pemba, Zanzibar,
January 2, 1898.

Dear Sir,

IN reply to your letter received late last night, I consider I have furnished, in my letter to Dr. O'Sullivan, sufficient particulars, which, if inquired into, cannot fail to substantiate the statements made in my letter to J. A. Pease. I do not feel it incumbent upon me to offer any further evidence; and, certainly, with those particulars before you, it will be impossible to say that the statements made in my letter are unsupported.

Believe me, &c.
(Signed) THEODORE BURTT.

Inclosure 5 in No. 21.

Sir A. Hardinge to Mr. T. Burtt.

Dear Mr. Burtt, *January* 2, 1898.

I AM sorry that you declined to reconsider your refusal to attend the inquiry, or to permit me to examine so material a witness as your interpreter. Your letter to Dr. O'Sullivan does not give us many details or statements of fact, and I think it would have been only fair if, having published these charges against the Wali (for you wrote not only to Mr. Pease but to Mr. Allen, not, apparently, marking either letter private), you had attended to assist us in verifying them when requested to do so. Although, however, according to the ordinary rules of justice, I should have been entitled to dismiss a charge, the author of which declined to be examined or to allow his authority to be examined with respect to it, I went very fully into all the cases cited by you for at least two and a-half hours this morning, and received from the Wali satisfactory explanations of his action. In one case, indeed, that of the girl whom Masoud-bin-Abdulrahim wished to make his concubine, he went so far as to disregard, in her favour, the evidence of four witnesses produced by the Arab, and the girl herself declared to me that since her complaint to the Wali she had been free from any further molestation.

Though you include in your letters to Mr. Pease and Mr. Allen all the "Arab officials" in a somewhat general and sweeping condemnation as "incapable of doing justice," &c., you make no specific charges against any of them except Sheikh Suleiman-bin-M'bruk, and I have therefore confined my inquiry to the acts attributed to him.

Believe me, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR H. HARDINGE.

No. 22.

Sir A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(*Received March* 11.)

My Lord, *Mombasa, February* 9, 1898.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Sub-Commissioner for this province, reporting a decision lately given by him as Judge of the Native Provincial Court, sitting with the Cadi of Mombasa, and another Moslem doctor as assessors, with respect to the division of slaves between the children of their deceased owners.

Your Lordship will observe that the Native Provincial Court in this judgment indirectly ignores the Decree of Seyyid Khalifa, under which all slaves born after 1889 are declared *ipso facto* free. I understand that the ground on which it did so is the legal maxim that law only becomes law, or at least only becomes binding and operative by promulgation, and that as Seyyid Khalifa never made this Decree public, but merely promised Sir Gerald Portal that he would publish it at some future more convenient season, stipulating that his consent to it should, in the meantime, be kept a secret from his subjects, it cannot be regarded as having ever been promulgated, and lacks therefore any legal validity. It has indeed, out of regard for the interest of slave children of tender years, who, had its existence been known to their masters, would

have been freed and left without support, never been applied at Zanzibar itself even by those who, like myself when I first came there, were under the mistaken impression that it had been published, whilst as far as the mainland is concerned not only could no copy of it or legal evidence of its existence be produced, but it appears never to have been communicated to the Imperial British East Africa Company who were at that time administering the country, or brought directly or indirectly to the knowledge of its inhabitants. Both the District and the Provincial Courts considered themselves therefore obliged, in the presence of numerons legal precedents to the same effect, to ignore it, and there can be little doubt that both the Chief Native Court, and the Native High Court of Appeal at Zanzibar, would, on grounds of pure law, as distinct from considerations of political expediency or sentiment, confirm the decision of these Tribunals. It is not improbable that that decision may be appealed against, as Bishop Tucker is watching with great vigilance every sentence affecting directly or indirectly the legal status of slavery in this country, but as it has been given judicially, I do not feel that, as an executive officer, I can in any way interfere with its effects, unless and until it should be revised by a higher Court.

I believe that in Zanzibar compensation has been granted by the Courts in respect of children born since 1889, on the ground that these children have been fed and maintained at an age when they could not work, by their masters, who would not have so maintained them had the Decree of Seyyid Khalifa been made public, and the children been in consequence freed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR H. HARDINGE.

Inclosure in No. 22.

Mr. Craufurd to Sir A. Hardinge.

Sir, *Mombasa, February* 5, 1898.

I HAVE the honour to state that, on the 1st instant, I decided an appellate case No. 125 of 1898, sent to me from the District Court.

The facts of the case were these: A certain Mahommedan woman had two children by two separate husbands, and on her death her property and slaves were divided; in doing this two small children under 7 years of age were taken from their slave mother. The District Court held that this was illegal, and ordered that the great uncle of the infants should be made their guardian for the present.

An appeal was submitted to the Provincial Court, and after hearing the Cadi of Mombasa and the most learned doctor of the Mahommedan law, gave a ruling that "in the division of slaves between the lawful children of the slave owner no child under the age of 8 years can be taken away legally from his or her mother." I confirmed the decision of the District Court.

My object in bringing these particulars to your notice is to obtain publicity to the decision; doubtless you will be pleased to notify it to the Sub-Commissioner of the Tanaland Province, so that an uniform procedure will obtain in these two provinces.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. H. CRAUFURD.

No. 23.

Mr. Cave to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 6.)

My Lord, *Zanzibar March* 2, 1898.

I HAVE received a copy of a pamphlet published by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, containing various charges against the Wali of Chaki-Chaki, emphasized by sensational head-lines, and two photographs, the one of four slave women in a chain-gang in Pemba, and the other of six East African natives under the charge of an armed policeman.

The charges brought by Mr. Theodore Burtt, of the Friends' Industrial Mission, against the Arab officials of the Sultan's Government, and the circumstances under

which the four women who appear in one of the photographs came to be imprisoned and put in irons, have already been thoroughly dealt with in Sir Arthur Hardinge's despatch of the 3rd January, but no information was apparently obtained in connection with the other picture which adorns the outside of the pamphlet, and, in view of the accusations which have been levelled by the Abolitionists against the administration of this, as well as of the sister island, your Lordship may be interested to learn the result of the inquiries which I have made regarding it.

The photograph represents, as you will observe from the copy which I inclose herewith,* a group of Africans chained to each other by means of iron rings fastened round their necks and guarded by an armed soldier or policeman; above it, in large type, are the words: "A group of slaves under the British flag in Zanzibar," and underneath it is the description, "Slavery in Zanzibar in 1896. Slaves in chains guarded by a native askari or soldier," and a quotation from "Ecclesiastes."

The first points that struck me in looking at this group were that the askari's cap is not one of the pattern worn by the Zanzibar troops, that the rifle which he carries is apparently a Mauser, a type of weapon which is not in use in the local force, and that there are no paths in this island, so far as I am aware, bordered by shells, as in the inclosed illustration.

The photograph from which the picture was lithographed has now been discovered in the shop of a Goanese photographer in this town, who informs me that the view was taken in the neighbourhood of Dar-es-Salaam by a fellow countrymen of his, who is now a post-office clerk at Delagoa Bay, and was brought over here to be developed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BASIL S. CAVE.

No. 24.

Mr. Cave to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received April 6.)

My Lord, *Zanzibar, March* 16, 1898.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, in accordance with the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 31st December, 1897, copy of a report which I have received from Mr. Vice-Consul O'Sullivan with reference to the special charges brought by Mr. Burtt, of the Friends' Industrial Mission, against the officials of the Zanzibar Government, and to the general operation of the Sultan's Anti-Slavery Decrees in the Island of Pemba.

I have not ventured to add any remarks of my own in connection with the effect which the Decrees have produced up to the present time in Zanzibar, because I believe that your Lordship would desire such a report to be addressed to you by Sir Arthur Hardinge himself, who is due to arrive here very shortly, but, as his return may be delayed for a few days longer, I have thought it best to send home Mr. O'Sullivan's report by the first available opportunity.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BASIL S. CAVE.

Inclosure in No. 24.

Vice-Consul O'Sullivan to Sir A. Hardinge.

Sir, *Pemba, February* 16, 1898.

IN accordance with your instructions, I beg to submit to you the following remarks with regard to the series of letters written by Mr. Burtt concerning slavery in Pemba, and published in the "Times":—

As you have yourself fully investigated the various charges brought against the Wali of Chaki-Chaki in the first letter of the series, that dated the 4th September,

* Not reproduced.

1897, with one exception, in connection with which it was not possible to obtain independent evidence upon the occasion of your visit to Pemba, I need refer only to the portion of that letter which deals with the point in question, and which runs as follows:—

"This morning I heard that a woman had been sent by her master to work on another Arab's shamba. Having good reason to believe that she was being sold, she ran away and complained to the Wali. He called in both the Arabs, who protested that she was not being sold. The Wali accepted their statement and sent the woman off with her new master. There is every reason to believe that this is a clear case of slave-dealing. But instead of the Arab official preventing it, he gave his countenance to the transaction."

I have taken particular pains to ascertain the truth with regard to the incident to which Mr. Burtt refers, and I find that he was entirely misinformed, both as to the circumstances of the case and as to the Wali's action in the matter. The facts are as follows: "On the 1st September, 1897, an Arab named Salim-bin-Abdullah, who resides at the extreme north of the island, happened to be in Chaki-Chaki. He saw in the street there a woman named Binti Mabrooki, whom he claimed to be one of his slaves who had run away from him some six years previously. The woman denied that she was his slave, and refused to follow him. The parties repaired to the Wali of Chaki-Chaki, and Salim-bin-Abdullah produced one witness to prove that he had bought the woman some seven or eight years previously. The woman stoutly denied Salim-bin-Abdullah's and his witness' statements, and alleged that her real owner was a Tumbatu man, who formerly lived at the south of the island, and from whom she admitted she had run away many years ago. The Wali warned Salim-bin-Abdullah that he must not molest the woman or force her to return to him against her will, even if she was his slave as he claimed. In reply to Salim-bin-Abdullah's inquiry as to whether, under those circumstances, he would obtain compensation, the Wali said that he would reserve the consideration of that point pending investigation of the case. Thereupon Salim-bin-Abdullah departed, and nothing further has been heard of him. The woman, Binti Mabrooki, has been living quietly since that time with her husband at a district known as Michakaeni, which is within a few miles of Chaki-Chaki.

In Mr. Burtt's second letter, dated the 21st October, 1897, he refers to the case of the slaves residing upon a shamba known as "Dongoni," which had been acquired by the Roman Catholic Mission at Zanzibar. The report to which Mr. Burtt gives currency as to those slaves having been sent to the French Consul who freed them at once, after their having been subjected to vexatious and unnecessary delays at the hands of the Zanzibar Government officials, is obviously incorrect. A moment's reflection should have made it clear to the writer that the fact of the certain shamba in Pemba having been acquired by the Roman Catholic Mission, would in no way empower the French Consul to liberate any slaves who chanced to be residing on that property at the time. As a matter of fact, the Dongoni slaves were freed by the Wali of Chaki-Chaki, and compensation money was paid to their owners by His Highness' Government. It is true that those slaves were sent to Zanzibar in connection with the question of compensation. Sir Lloyd Mathews had deemed it best in the beginning that compensation claims arising in Pemba should be decided in Zanzibar; and, accordingly, he had issued instructions to the effect that, in all such cases, the slaves were to be sent to him personally. It was soon found, however, that such proceeding involved much inconvenience, and consequently it was discontinued.

Both of the Pemba Walis are now empowered not only to free all slaves who apply to them for their manumission, but also to assess the compensation, where such is due, in conjunction with Archdeacon Farler, through whom the money is paid.

Mr. Burtt states in the course of the same letter that "the officials here are sadly ignorant as to the contents of both the recent Decree and former ones." I myself gave to the Wali of Chaki-Chaki, shortly after the Decree of the 6th April was promulgated, a complete series, in Arabic, of the various enactments regarding slavery from that made by Seyyid Bargash down to the present one. The Wali had copies duly made of them all, and they are publicly exhibited in his baraza.

In his letter of the 8th November, 1897, Mr. Burtt refers to "the great number of slaves now in prison here, many of whom we believe to be innocent, also to the brutal way in which their backs have been lacerated by floggings administered by the Wali."

He further states that two days prior to the date of his letter (*i.e.*, the 6th

November) "there were from forty to fifty slaves confined by the Wali." Again, in his letter of the 20th November, he writes: "Dr. O'Sullivan tells us that he visited the gaol on the 7th (November) and liberated twelve (prisoners). From another source we hear that as Dr. O'Sullivan was likely to visit the gaol on the 7th, he (the Wali) liberated twelve, so that the doctor would have no complaint to make. These are the facts: Upon my return to Pemba during the first week in November, Mr. Burtt represented to me that there were a great number of slaves imprisoned at Chaki-Chaki, many of them unjustly condemned in his opinion, and that in many instances the Wali had caused brutal floggings to be administered.

Accordingly, I visited the gaol on the 7th November, and found a total of thirty-three prisoners, all males, therein confined. Out of those thirty-three, eleven were free persons, amongst whom were two Arabs. I questioned the prisoners individually, and all of them, without exception, admitted to me that they had been guilty of specific offences against the law, and had been justly condemned. These prisoners, three in number, to whom floggings had been administered, had amply merited that punishment by their acts; one of them had been convicted of aggravated assault, in which he had used both stick and knife; another of robbery with violence, and the third of having savagely beaten his wife. The wife-beater was a free Swahili, the other two were slaves. In the case of twelve of the prisoners, all slaves, I found that their offences had been of a trivial nature, such as the theft of a few cocoa-nuts, or of a few pieces of sugar-cane. Those prisoners pleaded with me to intercede with the Wali on their behalf, and promised to behave well in future. As they had already undergone terms of imprisonment which appeared to me adequate punishment for the offences committed by them, I suggested to the Wali that possibly, as an act of clemency, he might see his way to liberate them; and he did so forthwith. Mr. Burtt must have been misinformed with regard to his statement that the Wali had liberated a number of prisoners in view of my anticipated visit to the gaol; I ascertained that only three persons had been discharged during the week preceding the 7th November, and that in each of those cases the full term of imprisonment originally imposed had duly expired.

Inasmuch as the servile element constitutes probably more than two-thirds of the population of Pemba, it naturally is to be expected that the bulk of the inmates of the prison should consist generally of slaves, apart altogether from any suspicion of undue harshness, or of injustice, towards them as a body.

The prison at Chaki-Chaki at present serves, and has served during the past ten months, for the incarceration of all the prisoners in Pemba, pending the completion of the new gaol at Weti. A daily average of even fifty inmates would represent, therefore, an extraordinarily small amount of crime, or, to be more exact, of detected and punished crime, in proportion to the total population of the island.

As regards the general working of the Decree of the 6th April, it is evident that since the date of my Report of the 30th September, 1897, the slaves throughout Pemba have very generally grown to understand the purport of that measure, and they have availed themselves, in rapidly augmenting numbers, of its provisions upon their behalf. It is probable, indeed, as Mr. Burtt states in his letter of the 21st October, 1897, that the slaves are prejudiced against the Walis, and are diffident about applying directly to them for their freedom; but they find no difficulty in obtaining access, with that object, either to Archdeacon Farler or to myself. In the case of those slaves, who make application to me in the first instance, I always refer them to the Wali, whose subsequent action I carefully note. In fairness to the Wali of Chaki-Chaki, I must state that up to the present he appears to me honestly to have endeavoured to carry out his instructions with respect to manumission. All applicants for freedom make their way to Chaki-Chaki, probably because that is the residence of the European officials. I have not heard lately of any slaves applying to the Wali of Weti direct. In only two instances up to now, so far as I am aware, have *bonâ fide* concubines asked to be made free. Neither of the women in question preferred any charges of absolute ill-treatment against her master. One of them complained chiefly that she had no separate establishment, and that, generally speaking, she did not receive the amount of "heshima,"* to which she considered herself entitled. The other woman stated as the reason of her discontent that her master kept her too rigorously confined, and wished to be able to come and go as she pleased. In both of those instances, however, the

* Respect.

parties arrived at a *modus vivendi*, and matters were arranged more or less satisfactorily.

I can testify to the fact that no difficulties are now placed in the way of slaves desirous of obtaining their liberty; on the contrary, the road to freedom is made very easy for them. The proceeding generally adopted is this: when a slave presents himself and asks to be liberated, his name is duly registered, and he is sent to the Zanzibar Government shamba at Tundaua, where he is fed at the Government expense, pending the settlement of his owner's claim for compensation.

It is to be remarked that in almost all instances hitherto where slaves have applied for their freedom they have stated as their reason for so doing, and probably with truth, that their lot had become intolerable, owing to the harshness with which their owners treated them. Those among the servile population whose masters behave considerately towards them—and the masters, as a rule, have acquired sense enough by now to act more fairly towards their slaves—have not, so far, displayed any particular eagerness to obtain their liberty. This apathy is not due to ignorance with regard to the purport of the recent Decree, for undoubtedly, as I have already stated, it has come to be known by this time by the slaves generally throughout the island that they can obtain their freedom for the asking. Doubtless the explanation is to be found in the mental attitude peculiar to the servile population as a whole. The average slave is not troubled with any feelings of sentiment concerning his social status, and is devoid of ambition. Sadly lacking in self-reliance, as, indeed, might be expected from a consideration of his antecedents, he shrinks instinctively from incurring those responsibilities which he realizes would devolve upon him in the event of his becoming a free man, and hesitates to break away from the old ties and the old conditions to which he has grown accustomed. To a like cause, probably, is to be attributed the behaviour of those applicants for manumission who, after having asked to be made free, and having duly been registered with that object, have changed their minds, and have voluntarily expressed a wish to return to their owners. There have been a considerable number of such instances, of which three have come under my notice within the past week.

As regards statistics, Archdeacon Farler informs me that close on 150 slaves had applied for and obtained their freedom in Pemba up to the end of January last. Since that date there has been a very rapid increase in the number of applicants, who arrive from all parts of the island in large batches almost daily. The Archdeacon states that, at the present time, there are many hundreds of them at Tundawa, where they constitute quite a large village by themselves; their cases are being taken in rotation, and as rapidly as possible.

The question as to what is to be done with those bodies of freed slaves must speedily engage the attention of His Highness' Government; probably it will be found desirable to establish in Pemba a labour bureau, which will arrange for their employment throughout the island on fair and equitable terms, and will interest itself in their welfare generally.

I have, &c.
(Signed) D. R. O'SULLIVAN.

No. 25.

Sir A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 18.)

(Extract.) *Mombasa, March* 23, 1898.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a letter from the First Minister of His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar, inclosing Reports on the working of the Decree of the 6th April, 1897, for abolishing the legal status of slavery, by Mr. Last and Archdeacon Farler, His Highness' Commissioners in the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba respectively.

These reports have been prepared in reply to a request from Sir Lloyd Mathews for full information as to (*a*) the change effected by the Decree in the condition both of masters and slaves; (*b*) the mode of its reception by both classes; and (*c*) the advantages or the reverse of its rapid or gradual operation.

I have, at the same time, the honour to transmit a further letter from Sir Lloyd

Mathews, inclosing correspondence with Archdeacon Farler on the present attitude of the freed slaves towards their late masters.

My duties on the mainland have prevented my being much in Zanzibar during the last six months, so I reserve any observations of my own on this important subject until I have had the opportunity of discussing, after my return there, with Sir Lloyd Mathews and others specially qualified to speak respecting them, the general results of the measure during the year which will by then have elapsed since its adoption.

I would, however, wish to draw your Lordship's attention to one point brought out in Sir Lloyd Mathews' letter. The Anti-Slavery Society have circulated throughout England a photograph of slaves in chains, under the heading "A group of slaves under the British flag at Zanzibar," with a text annexed to it from Ecclesiastes about oppression. Now this photograph is a photograph of slaves, or possibly criminals in chains, not at Zanzibar, but in German East Africa, and the soldier in charge of the slaves is a German soldier wearing the German uniform. The photograph was, in fact, taken not at Zanzibar but at Dar-es-Salam.

I think it would be only just that the attention of the Anti-Slavery Society should be called to the fact that they should, in fairness to the Zanzibar Government, explain their mistake to the readers of their publications, and, in future, if they still wish this picture to appear in them, should substitute the words "Dar-es-Salam" for "Zanzibar," and "slavery under the German" for "slavery under the British flag."

It is, of course, much to be regretted that the action of the Friends' Mission in Pemba should have produced the strained relations with Archdeacon Farler which that gentleman's Report on Pemba indicates. But whilst making every allowance for the pardonable inexperience and honest anti-slavery enthusiasm of a young missionary imported straight from a country district in England into an African Mahommedan Society, with whose new and difficult problems he can only become familiar by patient, impartial, and sympathetic study, it is only natural that the tone adopted by Mr. Burtt towards him should have given deep offence to one who, like Archdeacon Farler, has been engaged for years in various kinds of philanthropic and missionary work both in the islands and on the mainland of East Africa, and has hitherto always treated the Friends' Mission with marked courtesy and kindness.

As an instance of this tone I would beg to call your Lordship's attention to a letter by Mr. Burtt dated the 22nd December, to Mr. C. W. Brooks of the Friends' "Anti-Slavery Committee," and published in the "Times" of the 17th ultimo, in which he avows that he declined to give information as to the sources of his charges against the Wali of Chaki-Chaki to Mr. O'Sullivan, or to the officials of the Zanzibar Government, from a belief that those officials would "make it impossible for us to produce the persons alluded to, or to prove our case."

He goes on to state that as "the officials (Archdeacon Farler and Mr. Lister, and, perhaps, Dr. O'Sullivan), know that if these charges can be proved they will be in danger of losing their posts, we cannot possibly hope that the investigation will be a fair one," and that he will, therefore, "give the officials no further information."

This public intimation that a man like Mr. Farler, who has given the best years of his life to the work of improving and raising the negro, would engage in a conspiracy to suppress the truth for fear of losing a few hundreds a year, and cannot be trusted to act with common honesty, may, perhaps, explain the warmth of the Archdeacon's protest against the spirit and methods of the Friends' Mission.

Inclosure 1 in No. 25.

Sir L. Mathews to Sir A. Hardinge.

Sir, *Zanzibar, February* 3, 1898.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith two Reports by the Commissioners of this Government in Zanzibar and Pemba, on the working of the Decree abolishing the legal status of slavery, from the 6th April, the date of its promulgation, to the present date.

The headings under which the Reports are drawn up were given to the Commissioners by me, and I would beg to call your attention to the similarity of the Reports under a number of these headings. This similarity is the more important, as the Reports come from

the two men whom I consider, apart from their position as Commissioners of this Government, most fitted to give an opinion on the subject. They have both spent the best part of their lives in African slave centres, and wherever slavery has been rife. They are men of widely different tastes and training, and have had few, if any, opportunities of exchanging opinions on the subject of slavery—the one being located in Pemba and the other here. My own opinion on the subject being entirely in accordance with theirs, it is not necessary for me to make any comment on their reports, but to confine myself to what has actually passed before me. It is also as well that Her Majesty's Government should learn from other sources than mine how the Decree is working, and how the institution of slavery is being gradually abolished.

With regard to the general working of the Decree I have the honour to state as follows:—

1. His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar has in every possible way shown his loyalty to Her Majesty's Government, by putting into force in its fullest extent the Decree he made and promulgated at the instance of Her Majesty's Government. In almost all cases that have been brought to him personally he has subsequently sent them direct to my office, to be finally settled in accordance with the Decree.

In the one or two cases which he has dealt with himself he has acted most severely. For instance, one of his relations, a Princess, struck and intimidated a slave girl, who, to escape from her mistress, jumped out of a window on to a lower roof, some 12 feet below; the girl escaped and arrived at my office. The matter being one which affected one of his near relations, I saw him personally about it. He at once fined the Princess 500 rupees and freed the girl. In another case, in the early part of his reign, an Arab friend placed one of his slaves in irons. On hearing of this and after inquiring into the matter, he ordered the Arab to be imprisoned, and placed in the same irons as he had put on his slave.

Not only has he acted in this way, but from time to time when the Arabs have gone to him, he has informed them that his edict must and shall be kept in force, and for further information has referred them to me. No one could have acted more uprightly and more in accordance with the views of the English Government than he has done.

2. The Walis, Kathis, and native officials have been of great service in the administration of justice, and in the administration generally of the island.

Heretofore the island was more under the Sheikhs and overseers of the Sultans of Zanzibar working with Kathis and Arab soldiery under them. Now, and in connection with the abolition of the legal status of slavery, properly appointed Governors with their staff of Kathis and regulars, are now each administering a seperate district, as already reported by you in your despatches to Her Majesty's Government. Since the promulgation of the Decree, justice now is carried out for master and slave alike, a slave receiving the same consideration in the Courts of Law as his master, and verbal agreements are made between masters and their dependants as cases arise.

In one respect only the Walis have felt their duties too heavy for them, namely, the question of freedom, which entails adjusting compensation, and the whole matter of freedom and compensation has therefore been dealt with by me. This may appear to his Lordship a divergence from the original intention of Her Majesty's Government, but in practice, it comes to the same thing whether I settle all cases between Arabs and their slaves and decide the compensation direct or through the Walis, as in any case, the matter of registration and payment of compensation must eventually come before me.

3. *The Slaves.*—We have found that all well cared for slaves, such as domestic slaves, Wastarabu (the more enlightened), and those born or brought up from early youth on plantations prefer to remain with their masters rather than claim their freedom, and that the ordinany plantation slaves who are allowed a fair division of land for themselves, also desire to remain under present agreements made with their masters, namely, three days every week clear for themselves, and at the time of harvesting cloves, an extra food allowance or money rations. Besides this, any extra work they may do they receive payment for.

As a rule the slaves who will not live with their masters, and who claim their freedom, are prostitutes, vagrants, drunkards, and thieves. Whatever may be said by our friends at home of native immorality, even now the conduct of Mahommedan native women cannot be compared with the sights to be seen in the thoroughfares of some European cities. Whatever they may be they have sufficient modesty to keep their vices out of sight. It would be well if the anti-slavery faction turned their attention to what is going on in their midst, instead of interfering as they are now doing with a people whose religion punishes vices in the most severe manner, and with the English officials of the

Governments here, who are doing their best to carry out the directions of the home Government and the wishes of public opinion. The result of such hasty and ill-timed interference may bring about as bad a state of affairs here as in the centres of European civilization. In fact, our native inspector informs me that already the number of brothels are on the increase. I shall, of course, continue in future as in the past to clear away such houses, and, from time to time punish the occupiers and fine the landlords. Imprisoning prostitutes is not in accordance with European views, but in an oriental country, where the administration of justice is under both Arab and European control, I am placed in a position where I am forced to act in accord with the spirit of Mahommedan law and common sense when in such cases I think it just to act summarily.

4. *The Arab Owners of Slaves.*—Naturally the Decree is felt as a direct blow to the holding of slaves, but the justice of compensation for any loss they may sustain they perceive and thoroughly appreciate, and although it is also a direct blow against their religion and institutions, they feel that they are being dealt with fairly by a Great Power, which might at any moment, if it so pleased, emancipate their slaves and ruin them, without requiring to give any reason for doing so. The old saying, "Mimi kuku wewe Kisu" ("I am the fowl and you the knife") they are continually quoting, but with all that there has been no general ill-feeling against Her Majesty's Government by the slave owners.

Before closing this letter I would call your attention to the many letters written to the "Times" by the "Friends," and also a letter by Bishop Tucker. You will see from Mr. Farler's Report what he has said regarding the "Friends'" Mission at Pemba. It is a pity that Messrs. Burtt and Armitage should be allowed to do as they pleased in the Island of Pemba. They being British subjects we are powerless to deal with them, and therefore they take every advantage of their position, and whatever is reported to them, true or false, they believe in without inquiry; in fact, as strangers, they are unable to get at the proper facts. The result is that the public at home are misinformed, and the Anti-Slavery Society causes Her Majesty's Government much unnecessary trouble.

The statement made by Bishop Tucker in the "Times" is exactly the reverse of what happened. The true story is that a freed slave, after imbibing a certain amount of strong tembo (fermented cocoa and tree juice) went round the plantations and called on all the slaves not to do any work whatever for their masters, even although under an Agreement, and became so aggressive that on some of the owners of the estates complaining, he was brought in and imprisoned. The sending out of police to the shambas was to arrest him, and had no connection with the people on the plantations—simply to arrest an aggressive drunkard.

Again, as regards the other statement that a slave was seen being taken under police escort to be given up to his master. This is not true. From time to time I have to send police with slaves who claim freedom to bring in their masters in order to settle whether compensation is to be paid or not. It is difficult in many cases from the slave's description of his master to identify the latter, so that I am forced to send many of them with police to bring in their masters. I therefore trust that you will bring these matters before Her Majesty's Government, in order that these misrepresentations may be corrected and apologies made in the "Times," and that in future such reports from similar irresponsible persons may not be taken as correct without reference to yourself or to the Zanzibar Government.

I further call your attention to a photograph of a group of slaves on inclosed tract issued by the Anti-Slavery Society. The one I refer to is on the last page, and is headed "A group of slaves under the British flag in Zanzibar," and underneath, "Slavery in Zanzibar, 1896. Slaves in chains guarded by a native askari or soldier." This photograph was taken near Dar-es-Salam, which is on the mainland and the capital of German territory, not in Zanzibar. If they did not know it was taken in Dar-es-Salam how can they tell whether the people in chains are slaves or ordinary criminals? I may also point out that on the face of the picture itself it could not represent a scene here, as the askari (soldier) wears German uniform, and carries a German rifle. No such rifle or uniform has ever been used by Zanzibar askari.

It is quite true as regards the photograph on the first page that some women were placed in irons. This was most unfortunate, the Chief Wali of Weti was ill, and for time being deputed his brother to act for him, who, in accordance with the old custom of placing vagrants in irons, acted without reference to his brother. Directly I heard of it I directed Mr. Farler to inspect prisons and prisoners and overlook punishments and enforce the

Sultan's Edict, which was promulgated in Zanzibar directly after his coming to the throne, that no women, whatever their crimes might be, should be imprisoned in irons. This is a single case, and has been made the most of in a most unfair manner by the "Friends" and "Anti-Slavery Society."

To expect Orientals to suddenly become imbued with Western ideas is, you must own, going a little too far. The advance made in this one year is far, far greater than in all the preceding years taken together from the time Mr. Farler refers to, when "Wilberforce and Pitt determined that slavery should cease under the British flag."

The following statistics will show the number of slaves freed and in course of freedom both in Zanzibar and Pemba :—

Zanzibar—		
Freed with compensation	155	
Freed without compensation	85	
		240
Freed by Arab owners in Zanzibar on their own initiative without compensation	700	
		940
Pemba—		
With and without compensation	150	
Cases to be dealt with not yet registered	350	
In all	1,440	

On account of Mr. Farler's illness in Pemba he has not yet been able to forward a detailed statistical Report; the numbers given are taken from a recent private letter to me.

A full statistical Report will be sent you after the completion of one year. It is probable that by the 6th April the total number of slaves freed will show a large increase on the above figures.

I think it necessary to make a few remarks about the registering of slaves, which is called for by remarks made by the "Friends." For the sake of being certain of not registering a slave twice over, for the prevention of fraudulent cases, and for our own satisfaction to enable us to distinguish a slave at any time by his or her appearance, we have thought necessary to enter in the register all peculiarities, scars, or other distinguishing marks on the persons of the individual. Also height, colour, tribe, &c.; but in order that you may understand better the methods we adopt, I herewith inclose a copy of a case registered in this office. I would point out that the particulars shown are not for the purpose of ascertaining whether a slave is entitled to freedom or otherwise, as the Anti-Slavery Society lead the public to suppose, but to determine the amount of compensation, if any, and for future identification.

At one time it was suggested by a gentleman in the medical profession, that the letter F (free) should be tattooed on the shoulders similarly to a vaccine mark, or marked with nitrate of silver. We thought the method we now follow the better one as the other might cause slight pain and much be made of it by unfair critics of the Government.

This letter is only a sketch of the working of the Decree without entering into many details, but should you wish for information on any special points, I shall be glad, on the completion of the first year of the Decree, to furnish you with all details you may require.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LLOYD WM. MATHEWS,

First Minister and Treasurer, Zanzibar Government.

Inclosure 2 in No. 25.

Report by Commissioner Last on the Working of the Decree for the Abolition of the Legal Status of Slavery.

Synopsis of the Report.

1. Introduction.
2. Description of the state of—
   - (*a.*) The Arabs or masters
   - (*b.*) The slaves
   - (*c.*) The plantations

   } before the issue of the Decree.
3. The means used to insure the effective working of the Decree—
   - (*a.*) Special Proclamation by—
     - (1.) His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar in Public Baraza in town.
     - (2.) By the Arab Governors each at his own head-quarters.
   - (*b.*) By general Proclamations and statements of the provisions of the Decree by special messengers.
   - (*c.*) By the employment of European Commissioners to assist and to note that the edicts of the Decree are rightly carried out.
4. The manner in which the Decree was received by—
   - (*a.*) The Arabs.
   - (*b*) The slaves.
5. The effect produced by the Decree on—
   - (*a.*) The Arabs.
   - (*b.*) The slaves.
   - (*c.*) The plantations.
6. The necessity there is that the edicts of the Decree should be allowed to work slowly—
   - (*a.*) On account of the Arabs themselves.
   - (*b.*) For the moral and general benefit of the slaves.
   - (*c.*) For the sake of the plantations and the prosperity of the country generally.
7. Concluding remarks.

Report.

Dear Sir Lloyd,

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for your information, the following Report on the working of the Decree for the Abolition of the Legal Status of Slavery.

Introduction.

The object of this Report is to bring to your notice the manner of working and the effect produced by the Decree proclaimed in April last by His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar.

The Report will show how great an error it would have been had all slaves been compulsorily freed at one time, and how beneficial it is to the Arabs, the slaves, and the plantations, that the Edicts of the Decree are allowed to work slowly.

Before proceeding to Report at once on the actual working of the Decree, and for the better understanding of its effect and operation on the mind of the masters and slaves, it seems to me that it would be well to describe the state and habits of the masters and slaves, in the recent past and up to the time of the issue of the Decree, and also to note the state of the plantations during that time.

II. (*a.*)—*Description of the State of the Slave-owners previous to the issue of the Decree.*

The slave-owners—These comprise all the Arabs of any importance, and a considerable number of Swahilis and others who have raised themselves above the status of the common people. The Arabs own by far the greater part of the plantations, whilst the Swahilis who own slaves live chiefly in and around Zanzibar town, some few being out in the country, where they possess or hire small plantations.

From the earliest times, as is well known, all Arabs, and, in fact, all Mohammedans, have held slaves legally, that is, their religion and laws permitted them to do so, the result being that they were able to live in a state of considerable prosperity. The first Arab planters here were active, energetic men, and they reaped the reward of their labours, and so continued perhaps for some generations. But wealth was not an unmixed good; it brought to them, as it had done to many before, the means of, and love of, ease, which frequently are the forerunners of indolence and general physical weakness. It was not, however, wealth alone, but a combination of circumstances, which tended to affect and in some respects alter the character of the Arabs. The first settlers and later arrivals were men naturally strong, hardy and energetic, the result of their life and training in the mountainous districts of Oman, where the fruits of the earth, even in a scanty measure, can only be obtained by incessant labour, irrigation, and much care. The young Arabs born in Zanzibar, quite unacquainted personally with the arduous life of their forefathers in their ancestral home, must necessarily differ somewhat in character from them on account of the difference of their surroundings; here they were reared in the midst of ease and plenty, surrounded by all the marks of wealth and luxury that an Arab could wish for.

Zanzibar is different in every way from the country of Oman; here there are no steep mountain masses to climb, that source of strength, vigour, and fearlessness. The labours of agriculture are to be accounted as work in the mildest form when compared with what is required in Oman. Irrigation is practically unknown, not being needed, the earth renders its fruits without stint, with the smallest amount of labour, thus obviating all that energetic care which was required from their fathers. Again, the climate of Zanzibar, where it is never excessively hot, but where there is just that mild heat in which easterns can enjoy life, differs considerably from that of Oman, of which an old writer, Abd-er-razzah (1442) says that, "the heat of the sun was so intense that the sword in its scabbard melted like wax!" When we consider the circumstances of the younger Arabs, we must naturally expect them to differ in character from their fathers in much the same manner as the circumstances of life in Zanzibar differ from those of their ancestral home. The natural features of Oman show that will and much labour are required to obtain the common necessaries of life, but this results in the production of a strong, energetic race of men.

Zanzibar, which is different from Oman in almost every respect, naturally gives the opportunity and induces a man to love of ease and so enfeebles him. And so the accumulation of wealth, manner of training when young, and general circumstances of life in Zanzibar, affected the character of the younger generations of Arabs, by imparting a desire for luxury and ease, which in many respects tended to unfit them for carrying on the extensive plantation works which their fathers had begun so effectively. These, instead of superintending the works themselves personally, gradually adopted the habit of leaving the plantations to be worked by their native overseers and slaves. The overseers, frequently selected from among the slaves, were not always the best of men for the work, many of them undoubtedly neglected their duties, and pilfered wherever they saw the opportunity, not only in produce, but also, probably by the sale of slaves from their estate to others living at a distance. At this time many of the slaves began to run away, the estates depreciated in value, the Arab's income was considerably diminished, and at last he found himself in such straitened circumstances that he had to apply to the Hindi money-lenders and others to assist him in tiding over his troubles. This was probably a mistake, but it would not have been so bad had the Arab with the newly-acquired means applied himself personally to the reorganisation of his estates, with a hope of restoring them to the former state of prosperity enjoyed by his fathers. But it must be noticed that the somewhat degenerated state of the Arab was only one of the many causes which combined to bring them to the verge of poverty.

The laws of inheritance considerably affected the wealth of individuals; as, for instance, the father of an Arab I am acquainted with, who was in comparatively wealthy circumstances, the owner of large estates and many slaves, died, leaving ten children. At his death the estate was divided up amongst these and others, who, by law, had a right to a slave, with the result that, what was formerly the extensive property of a wealthy man is now divided into small plantations of people of moderately easy circumstances.

Another event which made itself felt all over the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba was the great hurricane of 1872. This absolutely destroyed the plantations of many, and there were but few that escaped being damaged more or less, with the ultimate result that it greatly increased the impoverishment of many, and took them still deeper into the hands of the Hindi money-lenders.

Just about this time the adverse circumstances of the Arabs were still further

increased by, first, a Decree which made illegal the introduction of slaves into the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. This was followed, from time to time, by Decrees which all tended to the diminution of slaves for working on the plantations, with the result that these became still less cultivated, and the income of the owners more curtailed, until, with many of them, it was a choice between respectable poverty or else the mortgaging of their estates up to their full value with the Hindis at heavy rates of interest.

This latter, naturally, owing to circumstances of life, many of them did, and now they are labouring under the incubus of heavy debts, from which it is almost impossible for them to extricate themselves.

Of course there are a few, the more wealthy Arabs, who probably have incomes from other sources, who are free from or who are not so deeply in the hands of the Hindis, but yet they have all had to suffer deeply from what they (legally, from their point of view) may consider as an interference with their rights, which has tended to lessen considerably the number of labour hands on their estates, and also their means of income, on account of the plantations not being properly cultivated.

Thus, it may be seen, that from a state of prosperity and comparative opulence, the Arab has been brought, partly by his own want of energy and progress, and partly by circumstances over which he had little or no control, to a state bordering on want, and which, unless some preventive measures are taken, will land him in actual bankruptcy.

(*b.*)—*The Slaves.*

We will now consider the state of the slaves previous to and at the date of the issue of the Decree.

This is scarcely the place to discuss the means used to bring the slaves into Zanzibar, but rather to notice their mode of life and surroundings after arrival.

Slaves may be conveniently divided into three classes: 1st, those who work for pay outside, that is, apart from their owners' house and estates; 2nd, those who work on the plantations; and 3rd, household slaves, viz., masuria, and those who live and work in and about their owners' house.

In the early days of the Arabs' prosperity the masters retained their slaves for work on their own estates, and in their houses, and few, if any, were allowed to work for pay for other people. This of course meant that the plantations would be better tended and more profitable to the owners; but as the demand for outside labour became greater, and there was a prospect of a continuous stream of ready-money coming in from the wages of the slaves allowed to work outside, the more indigent of the masters allowed their slaves to do this work, present need inducing them to think less of their plantations.

At first these outside workers were kept under considerable restraint. They were obliged to return to their master's house after the day's work was done, and all their earnings were given up to their owner. In return for this, these slaves slept in the house, were given food and clothing, and allowed one day each week (Friday) for rest. In the course of time matters became gradually better for this class of slave. They were allowed to go and work where they pleased, and where they could find the best market for their labour; nor were they obliged to sleep in their master's house, but could select a place of their own choice. It was also arranged that they should pay the earnings of five days in full, instead of six, retaining whatever else they earned for their own use. In return for these privileges they gave up the lodgings, food, and clothing they had hitherto received from their master.

The rate of earnings to be paid to the masters gradually decreased, until at the time of the issue of the Decree, many masters were glad if they could get only half of what their slaves earned. This permission to the slaves to engage in outside work has been highly beneficial, not only as supplying a public want, but also because it was of great advantage to many of the slaves themselves, several of whom have learned the trades of masons, carpenters, tailors, blacksmiths, silversmiths, and other callings, and have thereby become persons of considerable importance.

The master had a somewhat different arrangement with the slaves who worked on the plantations. He required their services for five days a-week, from about 9 A.M. to 4 P.M. Generally, however, the time of work was much less, owing to the neglect of the overseer, who frequently did not trouble to see at what time the slaves commenced work, and also to the fact that work on the estates was often given out in daily tasks (Kukata ungwe), which, when finished, the worker was at liberty to do as he pleased. In return for this labour the slave was given a piece of land large enough to build a house upon, and

sufficient to provide him with what produce he needed for supplying himself with food and clothing.

For working this land he had two clear days each week, and to the industrious person there were always the early morning and evening of each day in which he could work and increase the produce of his garden in much the same manner as many English working men do at home.

During the clove harvest these slaves were required to work all day, in return for which they received food, and at the end of the harvest each one was given clothes.

On the whole, the state of the slave on the plantations was not a severely hard lot. He had his own little home and sufficient land for his wants which he could work as he pleased, and enjoy the benefit of all its produce.

The plantation slave had very little to disturb the ordinary routine of his daily life. The master was but little on the estate, and when there, if he did not make an effort to show kindness, he certainly did not exert himself to be unkind or cruel to his people. And when it has happened that a man has acquired a name for being cruel to his slaves, he is generally execrated by his fellow-men, the offence being not only contrary to all feelings of humanity, but especially condemned by the Mahommedan law and religion. Perhaps the person who could, were he so disposed, be unkind to the slaves, would be the overseer, but judging from what I have seen of estate overseers they are too indolent, and fraternize too much with them to be uniformly unkind to them.

The third class of slaves are those who dwell in, and work in and about their owner's house. These embrace the "Masuria," or concubines, and the general working slaves of the house.

Here in the house, where favouritism and jealousy may be strong and caprice abound, the slave can experience a wide range of feeling and treatment, but if there is room for harshness of manner, there is still more for kindness, and judging from the happy, laughing faces to be seen about and in an Arab's house, one cannot but judge that comparative kindness and liberty is more the order of the day than cruelty or severity. Probably the position of the household is much the same now as it was ages ago. The domestic life of the Arab has not seen much change, so it is scarcely possible that the position and circumstances of the domestic slaves should be much altered.

The "Masuria" naturally occupy the easiest position in the house amongst the slaves, and probably this has been the case from the earliest times. Especially this would be so when the master of the house is unmarried. Their position is often one of trust, and by them regarded as one of honour and of divine appointment, it being allowed by Mahommedan law and the direct teaching of the Koran. Under any circumstances their work would be confined to light household duties, and their domestic status would be one likely to obtain for them considerable regard in their master's eye, not to mention presents and other favours they would receive from him. It is quite possible that a jealous mistress could make the life of a "suria" a somewhat uncomfortable one, but this is quite contrary to the general state of things. On the whole the "suria," who here, as a Mahommedan, is rightly regarded in quite a different manner to that in which she would be regarded in a western country is in a fairly good position, and generally she is well contented with her lot. There is but little doubt that the "Masuria" enjoy considerable advantages over the other slaves. Certainly they have no days they can call their own, but against this they have but little real work to do, they have their food and clothing and are in the way of obtaining very important advantages. Should one be fortunate enough to bear a child to her master, her future freedom and independence are secured, her child will inherit from its father, and she will enjoy the benefits of the inheritance.

The ordinary household slave is probably in the most onerous position of all slaves, especially in small establishments. Upon these fall the real work of the house, and they have to be ready to attend to the call of any who may require their services. But generally the number of slaves in a house are equal to the work of it, and manage to have a fairly easy time. Food is always plentiful and they are usually well provided with clothing by their owners, who do this as much for the general appearance of the slaves in the house as for their comfort. Besides this they have a considerable amount of freedom. Many of them are married and live outside their master's house in their own dwelling, and simply attend at their owner's house at appointed times, and at other times they can work and earn whatever they are able for themselves. The younger household slaves live in the house and are considered to be always on duty.

All things considered, it may be concluded that the state of the slave at the date of the issue of the Decree for the abolition of the legal status of slavery was one in which all classes of slaves could be and were fairly comfortable, and they themselves were quite satisfied with their position and condition of life. Undoubtedly cases of cruelty have

occurred, as such cases occur in every community, still the general conduct of masters towards slaves was one of fairness and equity from their point of view, without any marks of particular kindness or habits of especial cruelty. The Mahommedan master had a legal right to a certain amount of service from his slave in consideration of his right in the individual and of his maintaining the same in food and clothing. Nevertheless, it was incumbent on him to show kindness and equity rather than cruelty towards his slave, both because the slave was his property, and if he damaged it he would lose its services, and still more because of the injunctions of his religion as set forth in the Koran and the traditions.

(*c.*)—*The Plantations.*

We have now to describe the state of the plantations before and at the time of the issue of the Decree.

This can be done in a few words. When the Arabs first began their plantation work, they had to do with large tracts of virgin soil with plenty of slaves as workers. The result was a great success, much to the advantage of the planters. This success might have continued had the owners been able to persist in giving that proper amount of care and attention to the plantations which they had previously done. A variety of circumstances, however, intervened. The effect of comparative wealth, change of surroundings, and mode of life tended to deprive the owners of much of their wonted energy and care, followed by a love of ease and indisposition to labour. This induced many of the owners to leave the superintendence of their estates in the hands of native overseers, through whose want of care they considerably deteriorated in cultivation. This state of affairs with diminution in the number of working slaves, followed by the hurricane of 1872 and other events, so affected the plantations that at the date of the issue of the Decree it would have been almost impossible to have found an estate of any considerable size well cultivated all over. Of course, even now the plantations are not ruined, the clove trees and cocoanut palms are there, but all are gradually decreasing in value and yearly bringing in less to the owners for want of hands to cultivate the ground.

III. *The Means used to ensure the effective Working of the Provisions of the Decree.*

Incidentally, the first steps for bringing into operation the edicts of the Decree were taken when the provincial Government of the Island of Zanzibar was reconstructed, at which time it was divided into three provinces, and over each an Arab, Wali, or Governor was appointed, who took rank above all local authorities in his province, and to whom power was given to constitute a Court of General Jurisdiction. From this there was an appeal to a Judge appointed for the purpose. At the same time similar powers were given to the Governors of Chaki-Chaki and Weti in the Island of Pemba.

(*a.*) The first effective steps were taken by special Proclamations.

1. By His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar.

This proclamation was made by His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar in public Baraza in Zanzibar town. All the principal Arabs were present, together with great numbers of freemen and slaves, and all had the opportunity of hearing and understanding the provisions of the Decree.

2. By the Arab Governors each at his own head-quarters.

Directly after the public proclamation of the Decree by His Highness the Sultan in Zanzibar town, copies of the Decree were sent to each of the Governors at their head-quarters, at Mkokotoni, Mwera, and Chuaka, with instructions that they should make a public proclamation of the same. This was effected by each of the Governors calling together all the headmen and important persons in his province to his head-quarters. These came in considerable numbers, followed by their friends, and necessarily a number of slaves accompanied them. When all was arranged the Decree was publicly read and proclaimed in the presence of all, Arabs, and headmen, freemen, and slaves, so that all could hear and none fail to understand. After the proclamation the matter was freely discussed and explained so that the lowest slave present could not fail to grasp its import. A more effective method of making the Decree known could scarcely have been adopted, seeing that the people were summoned from all parts of each province, and on their return to their homes they did not fail to discuss the matter, Arabs and freemen between themselves, and slaves between themselves, so that by this means the matter would scarcely fail to become known to all.

In order to make sure that none should fail to hear of and understand the Decree, still further measures were used by—

(*b.*) General proclamations and statements of the Edicts of the Decree by special messengers.

These men were employed under the direction of the Zanzibar Government Commissioner, who sent them to any places where he thought the Decree might not have been heard of or understood, with instructions that they should make the Decree known everywhere, and especially in the remote places. These men travelled from Nungwe in the north to Kizam Kazi and Fumba in the south, and through the breadth of the island, thus making it still more sure that all should know of and understand the Decree.

(*c.*) To ensure still further the effective working of the Decree, European Commissioners were appointed by the Zanzibar Government, one for Zanzibar and the other for Pemba, whose duty it is to supervise the carrying out of the provisions of the Decree by the local Governors and officials, and also to report on the progress of the work. In the course of his duties the Government Commissioner for Zanzibar has travelled over nearly the whole of the island, he has been to every place of importance, and there are but few villages or hamlets he has not visited. This has provided him with excellent means for keeping the Edicts of the Decree in the minds of the people, and it has also given him valuable opportunities for discussing with both masters and slaves the benefits or otherwise to be derived from the working of the Decree, or, in other words, to be derived from a more equitable understanding between master and man, employer and employé. By these means used by His Highness the Sultan first, and then by the officials of his Government, it may be fairly stated that there can be but a few in the island, if any, who do not know of the Decree and its object, and who cannot put themselves in the way of enjoying its benefits if they need or wish to do so.

The actual proof of the effective working of the Decree is shown by the work done by the Governors at their head-quarters, and by the number of slaves who have received their freedom. There is scarcely a day passes but what some case or other connected with slaves comes up before the Governor, not necessarily cases in which the applicant seeks for freedom, but rather a settlement of differences between master and man, or a readjustment of conditions by which the slave can comfortably remain with his master. For though the slave quite understands that he can obtain freedom if he is so minded, yet he can see that it is not altogether to his advantage, for by so doing he would have to relinquish many privileges which he now enjoys.

4. The manner in which the Decree was received by—

(*a.*) *The Arabs.*—It is sometimes difficult to learn an Arab's opinion of a matter, for though he may be very friendly he does not always say what he thinks, so one has to get at his mind by taking note of his actions and circumstances.

Though the Arabs and others received His Highness the Sultan's Proclamation with salaams and assents of apparently willing obedience, and though the Arabs and chief men in the provinces made much the same professions of approval; yet it must be considered that they could scarcely be pleased with the Decree in their own minds, seeing that they were thereby affected in one of their most cherished institutions. The Arab has yet to learn that a day's work of paid labour is better, and in the end, cheaper and more profitable than the short day of semi-paid work carelessly done by an indolent slave.

(*b.*) *By the Slaves.*—The slave looks upon the Decree with apparently a considerable amount of indifference; still, he does not fail to see that it forms an open door to him should he feel disposed to use it. He is not, however, eager for a state of freedom, and has never been so. He does not understand the idea of simple independence, and the sense of having to stand alone and act for himself, makes him feel uncomfortable. The real question in his mind is, how he can enjoy life with as much ease and as little work as possible; and this consideration alone is sufficient to lead him to think that he is best off where he is.

As a matter of fact, the slaves, both males and females, do not object to exerting themselves, but they are strongly impressed with the idea that all exertion should be reserved for dances, feasts, and similar occasions.

5. The effect produced by the Decree on—

(*a.*) *The Arabs.*—As already shown in Section II of this Report, the Arabs and slave-owners generally, at the time of the issue of the Decree, had been brought by a variety of circumstances to a state tending towards absolute poverty and bankruptcy. They were nearly all of them deeply in debt and scarcely able to pay the interest on the loans they had received from the Hindis, to say nothing of paying off any of the principal. Their estates were only partly cultivated, owing in some degree, to want of energy on the part of the owner, and, also, for want of hands the number of their slaves having been considerably reduced by death, desertion, and other means.

The masters could scarcely be in a much worse plight, and as their means of living, that is, the cultivation of their estates, depended entirely on the number of slaves they could hold, one could hardly expect that the Decree would produce a favourable effect on the Arabs at first sight. It can only be that when the masters have learned the utility of a more equal division of labour and profit, that they will feel that the Decree has been of benefit to them.

In this way the Decree will be serviceable to them. Hitherto the masters have lived entirely without any particular exertion on their part, leaving all their sources of income in the hands of their overseers and slaves, and taking generally what the overseers brought them.

Only a short time ago an influential Arab told me that he divided the shamba produce into three parts, first part, stolen by the slaves; second part, taken by the overseer; third part, brought to the owner of the estate, and this he considered a fair estimate of plantation work generally.

Of course, the great hindrance to the masters making a fresh start in life is their lack of energy, and their strong attachment to old habits and customs, together with their impecuniosity, and indebtedness to the Hindis. But if some means can be devised by which they can be assisted or guided in the management of their debts, and helped out of their difficulties, so that they can pay for labour instead of getting bad work done by slaves at a considerable cost, there will then be a chance of the masters again acquiring a position of comparative ease and independence. Before this can take place, however, they have to be taught and to learn that there is more in the gospel of the equality of man than they have yet believed, or at least agreed to. There can be no real success or independence for the masters until all slave labour is abolished, the masters take a personal active interest in whatever their sources of income may be, and pay a fair price for the work that is done for them. It is for this object that the Decree works, and the effect it will ultimately produce will be the manumission of all slaves, fair payment for labour, and prosperity and independence for the master. Up to the present the effect of the Decree has been to still further reduce the income of the masters, on account of the number of slaves who have been freed, and from whom the masters can obtain no further benefit; and this must undoubtedly be the result of the working of the Decree until some means are devised by which the Arabs can be assisted to make a new start in life, and they also begin to help themselves by setting their slaves free and retaining their services on their estates, or by making other arrangements with the people suitable to the circumstances.

(*b.*) *On the Slaves.*—The general effect of the Decree has been to produce a feeling of independence amongst the slaves, but not sufficiently strong to induce them to seek for their freedom. The Decree has been in one way of considerably doubtful benefit to them, in that it has given them a feeling that they can do as they please, and, if so disposed, can ask for and get their freedom. This may be very well in its way, but it is not a really good thing for the slave, and far from being such for the master. In the slave it induces a spirit of increased indolence, with disregard and neglect of his duties to his master. This is especially morally bad for the slave, for, as long as he knows that he can do as little work as he pleases with the same advantage as he hitherto enjoyed, without any legal remedy against him, his love of indolence and ease will induce him not to quickly enter into any fresh relations with his master if it means extra work and activity on his part. The slave has little or no sense of the degradation of slavedom, and would much prefer to be a slave if he can get a fairly easy life, than to be free and independent if he has to work hard in a new sphere of life without any one to depend on. This idea of a home of a kind and dependence on some one else is very much stronger in the slave than any feeling that slavery is a disgrace. This is shown by the comparatively small number of slaves who have sought for freedom since the issue of the Decree.

The Decree means to all those who avail themselves of its provisions—old and young, men and women—first of all a severance from all their old ties, to them their home-life, a separation from the state of dependence they have lived in and enjoyed the benefits of so long; their seeking for and entering upon a new mode of life independently.

It was not to be expected, nor would it be of any advantage to them, that the old slaves should leave their masters (whom they had probably served since their childhood), and their state of comparative ease, to enter upon a new mode of living of which they know nothing whatever.

No manner of life provided for them could compensate them for the quiet life of the plantations, and the certain amount of attention they were bound to receive from their masters. Nor could the very young slaves be expected to act on the initiative and seek for freedom. Why should they? Their life generally is as easy as that of most children;

they have but little work to do, they are simply as children of the house, and are always sure of their food and clothing. It is only from the young and middle-aged men and women that any considerable number could be expected to seek for freedom. This is a good thing in its way, because it shows that, in this class of slaves at least, there is some kind of feeling which induces them to think that they can act for themselves; and it gives a hope that, as the younger ones grow up they will have this feeling still more strongly. But still, the numbers of those seeking freedom is not so large as might be expected, and the reason is simply this, they are attached to their masters and mistresses, and do not care to leave them or change their mode of life; many, in fact, would rather suffer more than a little disadvantage than leave their owners. A case in point is that of the wife of my syce. He is a very steady, respectable young man, yet his wife would rather that he should marry another wife than that she should leave her mistress so as to be able to live with him. It is the same with the slaves as with the Arabs; the Arabs have to learn to appreciate the advantages of paid labour, and the slaves have to be taught that not only is indolence a vice, but that they will never be able to estimate justly the true value of freedom or independence until they understand the value of their labour, and are willing to apply themselves to it. This means a complete revolution in the ideas and habits of both masters and slaves. The principal apparent effects of the Decree on the slaves are these: first, a considerable number of slaves have applied for and obtained their freedom; secondly, many of the Arab, Swahili, and Wahadim slave owners have freed a number of their slaves, in some cases leaving it to the freed slave to choose whether he will stay on the estate or go away, in most other cases agreeing with the freed ones to remain on the estate under conditions more advantageous to both masters and workers; thirdly, the slaves all over the island, instead of the usual two days free allowed them by the masters for the cultivation of their portions of land, are now given three days clear, so that the division of labour now is four short days of about six hours each; and all the rest of the week the slave has for his own use, that is say, the slave now does about twenty-four hours' work each week for his master, in payment really for as much land as he likes to use in his master's estate for his own purpose.

(*c.*) The Plantations.

There is not much to be said on this point at present. The time elapsed since the issue of the Decree has scarcely been of sufficient length to make any visible difference. Previous to this date the plantations were in a very neglected, uncultivated state, owing to a number of circumstances, Arab's want of means, slave's indolence, and shortness of hands to work the estates. Since that time no apparent change has taken place, though as a matter of fact changes have been working slowly.

In proportion to the number of plantation slaves set free, so has the work there diminished, on the other hand, in so far as the masters have been able to set free or otherwise agree with their slaves so as to retain their services on their estates, so far have the plantations improved in cultivation and produce. But these results so far, are comparatively small, and barely apparent to any excepting those on the estates so affected. Still it must be said that the effect of the working of the Decree on the plantations, though so far scarcely to be justly estimated, yet is good, because it has begun to show the masters that they cannot rest entirely on the work of their slaves for the whole of their income, and they are in the way of being taught that properly paid labour is better than the work of slaves. The slaves also have the opportunity of beginning to learn that industry is better than indolence, and that if they make proper use of the extra time and land placed at their disposal by their masters they may acquire more of the pleasures of life, and become more useful members of the community.

6. It now remains to be shown that it is necessary that the Edicts of the Decree should be allowed to work slowly.

(*a.*) On account of the masters.

It has already been shown that the state of the masters at the time of the issue of the Decree was but, with few exceptions, that of men well on the way towards bankruptcy. The decree so far has not done much, or scarcely anything, to better their state, nor could it be expected in so short a time, and seeing that most of them have to depend entirely and solely on the work of their slaves for their income, it is only reasonable to say, that if the Decree is strongly pressed and the slaves almost compelled to seek freedom, that it must bring the Arabs to a state of penury, much worse to them than extreme poverty to the ordinary poor man. Naturally, this would be the result, as soon as the slaves are all freed, the plantations must pass out of cultivation for want of workers, the masters would lose what little income they were receiving and so would be unable to pay the Hindi money-lenders the interest due on their loans. These would naturally foreclose on the estates and houses mortgaged to them, and the masters would be left

without land, without home, and penniless. This would be a very drastic and from some points of view, a very unfair way of treating them, for the position of the Arab must be judged from his environment and not by the strong philanthropic ideas of the West. Whatever may be one's view of the Arab, it can scarcely be denied that he is worthy of some regard as well as the slave, certainly of so much regard that it would hardly be just to reduce the Arab to a state of poverty in order to give freedom to his slaves. The Arab is what he is by the law and religion which guides him, and he has no reason to think that he is wrong in holding slaves and profiting by their services, and as this idea is so absolutely taught him by his religion, which to him is the highest of all laws, it is necessarily scarcely just that he should be summarily deprived of them and their services and thereby be reduced to poverty because others think differently. Nor from a practical point of view would it be wise to deal thus violently with the Arabs so long as there is the least opportunity of arriving at the same object in view by more gentle means. It seems that there are these means which will accomplish all that is required if only time be given to allow them to operate. I refer to the fact of the Arabs and other masters undertaking to free their slaves themselves (which they have begun to do in all parts of the island), and at the same time agreeing with them by grants of land and arrangements of labour and time, to retain their services on their estates.

If this can be effectually done by the Arabs, and there is every reason to believe that it can be, then in the course of time all holders of slaves will be obliged to follow the example set them and free their slaves. This will give a fair solution of the question of master and slave, employé and employer, which would be of equal advantage to both parties.

(*b.*) The provisions of the Decree should be allowed to work slowly for the moral and general benefit of the slave.

There are many reasons why the slaves of Zanzibar and Pemba should not be given their freedom in a mass, and even why the whole body of slaves should not be allowed to acquire their freedom in a short space of time. The slaves generally are quite satisfied with their position, the majority of them have no wish to be free, and some absolutely refuse the freedom offered to them, and why? In many cases undoubtedly out of pure regard for their masters and mistresses and for the house to which they are attached, but probably the greater number prefer to remain slaves, because that state of life falls in best with their indolent nature. They have a house on the estate, they do as little work as possible, and can always find something to eat and something to wear. This satisfies them and the great majority do not wish to be disturbed.

Still this is no reason why they should not have their freedom, but they should be allowed to acquire it in such a manner as will conduce best to their benefit and to that of others concerned. There are many of the slaves to whom it would be a real cruelty to compel them to be free and leave their master's estate. I mean the old people. These, as a matter of fact, if they were set free by force must leave their masters and their old homes, and what could they do? No Government provision could ever equal to them the quiet little hut they had on their master's estate.

The section of slaves which requires most of our attention is that composed of the young and middle ages men and women. When we think carefully of the indolent character, the love of ease, and the unfitness for real work of the several thousands of this class it is necessary to study the position seriously before giving them their freedom in a body, with liberty to scatter themselves and roam over the island and do what they think fit. It would not be good for them, it would be very bad for others. I do not mean to imply that they have no redeeming features, but judging from their general habits and customary laziness, one may easily conclude that they would rather steal than work, and that a great many would do so. Nor do these remarks apply to the men alone, for the women are on a par generally with the men, both in physical strength and habitual character. What could they do if they were all set free in a hurry? They would be without a home, without money, and with probably only the clothes they stood in. They would have nothing to eat, and as there are not many who would feed them, nothing would remain for them to do but to take where they saw the opportunity, and they would not fail to do so. This would be bad for them and it would be a very injurious thing to do to free them in a mass or in a short space of time, knowing that such a step must necessarily put many of them into the positions of vagabonds, and perhaps worse. And especially would it be wrong when all this morally bad influence can be avoided by judiciously freeing the slaves as opportunity occurred. It would have an extremely bad moral effect on the slaves and on the country if all were freed at once, and many a one might have cause to curse the day when he ceased to be a slave.

There is all the more reason to speak strongly on this point, because the advantages

are much greater, especially to the slave, if the Decree is allowed to work slowly. The slave hitherto has scarcely known what it is to work for his own advantage. Since by law the property acquired by a slave was really that of his master, he was naturally indolent. Now he has to learn to work for himself, and scarcely a better school could be provided for him than that which is now naturally opening up. The masters begin to see the advantages of co-operating with their slaves, and they are showing this by setting them free, or otherwise arranging with them so as to retain their services on their estates, by which agreement both master and man are considerably benefited, and especially the workers, for now, without being freed, except by his own wish and wants, the hitherto indolent slave can teach himself to work well and learn the value of his labours, by the benefits they bring to him, and a quiet start in this manner is all the better for him, for the raw slave is not fit to stand by himself, not really knowing his own powers or value, but, after a training for a few years for his own advantage, he must necessarily be a better man and better fit to act for himself.

It is therefore most important that the provisions of the Decree should be allowed to work slowly, first, to give the masters an opportunity to re-establish themselves on a basis of co-operation with their workers; and, second, the slaves freed or not, not being in a position to stand by themselves, to give them the opportunity to learn the value of their own labour, and so make them honest workers and useful members of society.

(*c.*) The provisions of the Decree should be allowed to work slowly for the sake of the plantations and the prosperity of the country generally.

It was shown in the former part of this Report that at the time of the issue of the Decree the plantations were all in a low state of cultivation, so that at a very moderate estimation they were not producing more than one-half as much as they could be made to produce. This state of affairs was brought about by a variety of circumstances together with some mismanagement and want of hands to cultivate the ground. Since the issue of the Decree the state of the plantations generally has not changed, owing to the fact that the leading circumstances have remained much the same. With some, however, the output has been less than in former years, this showing that the plantations have a tendency to go out of cultivation, which misfortune will undoubtedly take place unless some steps are taken to preserve them. For the last few years, and up to the present time, the relations between masters and workers have been such that it has been impossible for the plantations to be a success, for the reason mentioned above, but since the issue of the Decree the masters have begun to see that the old state of affairs is passing away. It is no longer that the men shall do all the work, and the masters have all the produce, now the masters must provide the land, the men do the work, and there must be a fair division of profits, not exactly in money, or kind, but by a fair arrangement between master and man, so that each shall have his just share, the one for his land, the other for his labour. Fortunately the masters see that their redemption from poverty lies only in this course, and some of them have set the example of either freeing their slaves or arranging with them to remain on their estates, the principle of the agreements between them being that the workers shall have a larger portion of land for their own use, and that they shall give to the landowners a fair amount of free labour according to the value of the land they occupy.

The meaning of this is, that if the system can be adopted all over the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, the estates will in a short time be reclaimed from an uncultivated state, the masters will again become moderately prosperous, and the workers will be trained to become useful, industrious people.

And all this depends on the provisions of the Decree being allowed to work slowly, so as to give the masters time to recover themselves, and the workers a preparatory lesson in working for themselves and practical independence.

7. Concluding remarks.

We have seen in the early stage of plantation cultivation in Zanzibar and Pemba, that the masters, Arabs chiefly, were energetic men, and attended personally to the work they had in hand, with the result that they became rich and influential, but their riches and success were not unmixed blessings. They had too much, so that they could afford to bring up their sons in ease and luxury.

This kind of training did not make the younger generation of Arabs any the better fit to carry on the work their fathers had begun so well and successfully, and many of them when called to take it up, rather preferred to leave the estates in the hands of their native overseers, with the result, through the overseers' carelessness, slaves' laziness, and a number of adverse circumstances, that the shambas were badly, or only partly, cultivated, the owners income decreased, and being unable to pay the calls upon their purse, went

heavily into debt, and were brought so close to the verge of poverty, that bankruptcy stared them in the face.

Such was the state of things when the Decree for the abolition of the legal status of slavery was proclaimed. This might have been regarded as likely to place the masters in a state of absolute poverty.

Had the Decree meant the compulsory freedom of all slaves instantly, undoubtedly the results would have been most disastrous to both masters and slaves, and also to the plantations. But, fortunately, wise heads ordered it to be otherwise by leaving it optional to the slaves to claim freedom or not, as they pleased, and when they pleased. This was just, both for the masters as well as the slaves, and it has given the masters just that impetus and opportunity which was needed to reconsider the state of their relations with their workers.

It is well for the masters that they have begun to consider this question, because on it depends their future prosperity or impecuniosity. They are the most fortunate, who, seeing their own incapability of standing alone, take the first steps to arrange with their workers on a just and equitable basis.

As it has been shown, it is very fortunate for the slaves that they have not all been freed in a body, to be cast loose upon the country without any visible means of support. They can still retain their homes, have the opportunity of learning what the real value of labour is both to themselves and to others, and get a training in self-respect and independence, which it would have been impossible for them to have acquired had all been freed together. It is for the redemption of the masters, it is for the making of the workers, and it is for the reclamation of the plantations, that the provisions of the Decree for the abolition of the legal status of slavery should be allowed to work slowly.

I must beg you to excuse the frequent repetitions in this Report. They are almost unavoidable on account of the close connection of the various branches of the subject.

(Signed) J. T. LAST,
Zanzibar Government Commissioner.

Mangapwani, Zanzibar, January 25, 1898.

Inclosure 3 in No. 25.

Report by Commissioner Farler on the Working of the Decree for the Abolition of the Status of Slavery in Pemba.

DURING the present century the question of the abolition of slavery has been one of the deepest interest to the people of the British Empire.

From the day when Wilberforce and Pitt sat under the historic oak at Holwood, and determined that slavery should cease under the British flag, the work of abolition has continued.

Our cruisers having destroyed the West Africa Slave Trade, the British Government turned its attention to East Africa, and it was realized that in the city of Zanzibar there existed one of the greatest open Slave Markets in the world.

Then Livingstone, after his memorable travels in Central Africa, came to England and told his story of the awful Slave Trade in the interior.

Great Britain determined to do her utmost to bring these horrors to an end. At great cost British men-of-war were stationed on the East coast and at Zanzibar, and by a Treaty made with the Sultan Said-bin-Said our men-of-war had power to stop and search all dhows flying the Sultan's flag and rescue any slaves found therein. But still the Slave Market remained open, and slaves were bought and sold every day, and the legal traffic in the wretched victims of the Slave Trade continued.

Then a further step was taken.

In 1873 the British Government commissioned Sir Bartle Frere to proceed to Zanzibar, and negotiate the Treaty with the Sultan Barghash-bin-Said, forbidding and declaring illegal the importation of slaves into the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, and for closing the Slave Market in the city of Zanzibar.

Though every diplomatic pressure was brought to bear upon the Sultan, yet influenced by his surroundings and told by the Chief Arabs that if he signed the Treaty they would revolt against him, he remained obstinate and cried *non possimus.*

At length, Sir Bartle Frere departed after telling the Sultan that he would return with such a force behind him that he would be compelled to accept.

In the meanwhile, the British Consul, Sir John Kirk, with that wonderful knowledge

of the native character and powerful influence over it which has never been surpassed persuaded the Sultan's most trusted Councillor and Chief Astrologer, Sheyk Abdul Aziz, that continued obstinacy on the part of the Sultan would lead him to disaster, and the bringing in of much stronger measures than was at present contemplated. The Sheyk then consulted the stars, and informed the Sultan that if he did not sign the Treaty, dreadful things would happen to him, and that he would lose all his power, for so it was written in the stars. The Sultan in a great fright sent at once for Sir John Kirk and in a short time the Treaty was signed.

Of course for a long time after the signing of the Treaty, the traffic in slaves continued, and slaves were constantly being imported into Zanzibar and Pemba, but the activity of our cruisers and their armed boats soon made the trade too dangerous and unprofitable to be worth carrying on, and then it sunk into an affair of smuggling over a few raw slaves in a canoe.

Seyyid Burghash was succeeded in 1889 by his brother Seyyid Khalifa, and in return for raising the blockade, he issued a Decree declaring that all slaves brought into Zanzibar or Pemba after 1889 were free, and that all children born after 1890 were free.

Seyyid Ali succeeded his brother Khalifa and again by the influence of a British Consul, Sir Charles Euan Smith, the Sultan made a Decree in 1891, in which he forbade in future the sale of slaves or their transmission except by direct inheritance.

Thus for a long series of years the British Government had been preparing and educating the people of these islands for the abolition of the Legal Status of slavery.

The Sultanate of Zanzibar having now become a British Protectorate, there arose on the part of the British people an earnest desire to see a final blow given to the Status of slavery.

The difficulty was how to bring this about without ruin to the masters, suffering to their slaves, and the destruction of the plantations. Then again, it was an ancient institution woven into the social life of the people, and sanctioned by their religion.

The whole question was surrounded with difficulties known to Sir Lloyd Matthews, who was responsible for the Government of the country and its well-being; and the question was for a time under his earnest consideration. At length it was decided by Her Majesty's Government to advise the Sultan to issue a Decree abolishing the legal status of slavery, and let the freeing of the slaves work itself out slowly, as it did in British India, without causing great economic changes.

II. *The Condition of the Country before the Issue of the Decree.*

The State of the Owners.—The owners of plantations, before the issue of the Decree, were in great difficulties for want of labour. The Decrees of Seyyid Burghash, Seyyid Khalifa, and Seyyid Ali, preventing the importation of fresh slaves, and freeing many in other ways, had caused such a diminution in the number of slaves, that many shambas had gone either wholly or partially out of cultivation.

Then the prosperous years for clove plantations in Pemba, which began after the destruction of the clove plantations of Zanzibar by the hurricane of 1872, had now come to an end, and owners of shambas, who had been getting a good income from their plantations for many years past, now found themselves in financial difficulties. Estates were mortgaged at a high rate of interest to the Indian money-lenders; and it was only by cutting down expenses, and living economically, that the owners of property could hope to recover themselves. Many had made these changes, and masters who had spent their money in the towns or in Zanzibar, now were conscientiously living upon their shambas, and looking after them themselves. To try and keep their shambas clean and well cultivated with fewer slaves, they were obliged to exact an increased amount of work from them.

The old easy going casual work of the slave was a thing of the past, and in some cases slaves were severely beaten because they were unable or unwilling to perform this extra labour.

Arabs not cruel naturally.—The average Arab is not naturally a cruel man, but the unrestrained power of punishing a slave had an evil effect upon him, and with his lack of self restraint when excited, sometimes turned him into a monster of cruelty. Such cases, however, were rare and exceptional. Many shambas were conducted in a patriarchal manner, and in these there was an excellent feeling between masters and slaves; but in others the owners took but little interest in their slaves, and though not treating them with cruelty looked upon them as mere machines for producing their crops.

The Condition of Slaves before the issue of the Decree.—The general condition of the slaves on well-managed shambas was, taken as a whole, fairly comfortable according to African ideas. Each family had its own house and plot (as much land as it cared to cultivate) assigned to it by the owner for its maintenance. Two days a week, by Arab Law and custom, was placed at their own disposal, and on some shambas they were given a third day. As soon as they had finished their work on their masters' days, they could go to their own shamba and work.

Slave Crops.—Their crops consisted of mohogo (cassava), beans of various kinds, tobacco, sugar cane, bananas, and rice. The rice crop when gathered is usually sold either to the master or to an Indian trader, and clothes are bought with the money. The other crops are used for daily maintenance, and with fowls, and sometimes a goat or two, they have plenty of food.

Hours of Work.—The hours of work are not the same on all the estates. In some shambas the slaves work from 7 A.M. to 5 P.M., with an interval for rest at midday, but this is considered severe. In other shambas they cease work at 3 P.M., and this arrangement is much appreciated by the slaves as it gave them plenty of time for looking after their own shambas. But the system most in favour with the slaves was piece-work—so many "miale" (a 7 feet measure) a day to hoe or clear. Then if a slave finished his portion of work by noon he had the rest of the day for himself.

The Black Spot.—The black spot in the system was that a master could sell his slave on the quiet, and so break up the family.

Also there was nothing to insure a slave against the caprice of a cruel master, who could punish him without restraint.

From time to time horrible crimes were perpetrated, and though neighbours would remonstrate, they dared not interfere, and so the slave had no redress until some British official heard of it, and took measures for the relief of the slave and the punishment of the guilty master. These cases of gross cruelty were very exceptional.

III. *The Chief Points in the Decree.*

The main feature of the Decree is that it abolishes, not the institution of slavery, but the legal enforcement by the Courts of rights decided on that institution.

Thus the Courts refuse to enforce any alleged rights over the body, service, or property of any person on the ground that such a person is a slave.

Compensation.—But if an owner can show that he hitherto had been lawfully possessed of such rights in accordance with the Decrees of previous Sultans, and has now by the application of the said Decree, been deprived of them and thereby suffered loss, then the Courts can decide upon the amount of compensation to be granted, and the Government of Zanzibar will pay this sum.

Vagrants.—Neither slaves who have left their masters nor freed slaves will be allowed to wander about without a home or visible means of subsistence. They must show that they have a regular domicile and means of subsistence on penalty of being declared vagrants, and then being assigned definite work and provided with food by the Court before which they are brought.

Concubines.—The question of concubines has been much discussed in England, and many wild and extravagant statements have been made about it. It should be understood that by the Sheria of Islam, a concubine has a very important legal status, second only to that of a wife. She has a house and servants assigned to her, she is handsomely clothed and receives many presents of jewellery, and her children take rank immediately after the children of the legal wife. If the father dies intestate they take their share of the property with the other children. A concubine as soon as she has become a mother is free. The great difference between a wife and a concubine is that a wife can obtain a divorce, but a concubine cannot. For a man to take his slave by force and make her his concubine is considered disgraceful by Arab social law, and is seldom done. The dislike of a woman to be made a concubine is not an objection to cohabitation with the master, but a dislike to the seclusion of the harem.

A reckless charge made by a certain inexperienced and badly-informed missionary here, which has appeared in newspapers and pamphlets, about a virtuous girl being forced against her will to be the concubine of her master, and her horror at her fate, was absurdly untrue. When the case was properly inquired into and the girl herself examined, it turned out that the said Arab was not her master, but her lover only, and that she had been living with him for a year, but when he wanted to make her his legal concubine and enter his harem she objected, not to living with him, that she had been doing, but to the confinement of the harem.

Every aid given to a Concubine who has been ill-treated.—There are difficulties in the lot of a concubine, and any charge of cruelty preferred by one against her master is most carefully examined into, and every facility given to a concubine to leave her master if she wishes to do so.

IV. *The Means used for the effective Working of the Decree.*

Special Proclamation by the Sultan in Pemba.—Shortly after the Decree had been promulgated in Zanzibar, the Sultan sent to Pemba a special Arab Commissioner, Mahomed-bin-Seif, who in the Sultan's name made a proclamation of the Decree before all the chief Arabs of Pemba, and explained the Decree to them.

The Sultan had previously sent for all the Arab officials to go to Zanzibar, so that he might make known to them the edicts of the Decree.

The Proclamation by the Walis each in his own district.—Then each Wali in his district called together the land-owners and their slaves, and having read the Decree to them, explained its working and its chief points, making them understand that any slave could now leave his master and claim his freedom if he wished, but to obtain that freedom he must go before the Wali, and show how he proposes maintaining himself.

By Special Messengers.—The Walis then sent special messengers with the Decree to all the Jemadars and Kashis of the different districts in all parts of the island, with orders to make the Decree known, and explain its points to their neighbours.

The English Commissioner.—An English Commissioner was also appointed with instructions to watch over the execution of the Decree by the Arab Walis, and give them advice when they asked for it, but not otherwise to interfere with them in their execution of the edicts of the Decree; and also to report to the Government in Zanzibar how everything went on.

The great wish of the Government was, if possible, to get the Arabs themselves to carry out the Decree, with as little interference as possible from Europeans.

The Wali slandered by Missionaries.—Much general and unfair abuse has been levelled at the Arab officials by ignorant new-comers, not understanding the language nor the customs of the people, and being obliged to obtain their information from their servants, who try to get information for their masters by spying and listening to conversation, and also from unscrupulous interpreters, who tell their masters anything that they think will please them, true or false, and whose knowledge of English is almost nil. These charges were quite unfounded, and could not be proved, yet no apology was made to the Wali for the way in which he had been slandered.

V. *The manner in which the Decree is received.*

By the Owners.—The Arab owners of shambas did not, from the first, profess to like the Decree, but thought that an inscrutable Providence for some wise purpose had inflicted upon them a plague of British officials, who, in addition to all their other troubles and misfortunes, would now take away their slaves, leaving them without servants or labourers. When they heard that it was the wish of the Government to make the working of the Decree gradual, they were more content, and hoped, if they had a little time given them, to readapt themselves to their altered circumstances.

Unfair Action of the Quaker Missionaries.—But the Arabs bitterly resent the intrusion of the Quaker missionaries, whom they charge with acting unfairly, going far beyond the Decree in their action. They say, "these men without manners, in a most arrogant and insulting way, act as though the Decree had proclaimed the immediate abolition of slavery, and the freeing of all the slaves, and having bought a large shamba, needing much labour to keep it in order, which they cannot get in a fair way, they rob us of our labour for their own profit, and encourage our men to come to them, and thus they get plenty of cheap labour."

This action of the Quakers has aroused a strong feeling of hatred and antagonism against them, and if in desperation the Arabs do rise, it will go hard with them.

The Universities Mission.—On the other hand the missionaries of the Universities Mission established at Weti, the second large town in Pemba, are greatly respected and beloved by Arabs and slaves alike, and their dispensary is crowded day by day with

grateful patients, and natives of the best class are sending them their children to be taught.

How the Slaves received the Decree.—The slaves for some time hardly knew anything about the Decree; it takes a long time for news to penetrate remote shambas, especially in a country without roads or bridges. Even those who knew all about it seemed to feel but little interest in it.

Many parties of slaves came before me and complained of having too much work to do, and they asked me to try and make some arrangement with their masters, by which their daily amount of labour might be reduced. This was, in all cases, done, frequently a written contract was drawn up, which afforded much satisfaction to the slaves.

Did not wish to leave their Homes.—In several cases, when I asked these applicants if they would like to be freed, they at first said yes, but when they understood that after they were free they could not keep their homes and shamba unless their master choose to enter into an agreement with them. They said that they would like a little time to consider this before deciding; and the result usually was, that they preferred to remain on their holdings as they were, now that they had obtained favourable terms about work with their masters.

Objected to being Freed.—An amusing incident of zeal, without discretion, on the part of the Quakers came before me the other day.

A note was put into my hands written by Mr. Burtt, the Principal of the Friends' Industrial Mission, saying that he had sent me four slaves to be freed. Their names and descriptions were written, and after each the legend, "He wants to be freed."

I then sent for these persons, and the first, a lady, an old friend of mine, named Zalima, the champion mortar-mixer of the town, rushed at me and volubly demanded protection from those "men without manners" at Banani.

When I asked her what was the matter, she told me that these "men without manners" had insulted her; they had insisted that she was a slave, and must go to the Commissioner to be freed and registered, and then return and live at Banani. "But," she said, "I am free, and I object to be registered as a freed slave. I once had much property, but I lost it. I am poor now, but I work honestly for my living, and I don't want to live at Banani."

I told her she need not fear, no one could compel her to do so, and being free she could not be freed.

Next came a lad named Fataki. He told me that he was the slave of the Arab overseer at Banani; "Those Europeans there ordered me to come and be freed. But I don't want to be freed; Hamid-bin-Abdullah is like a father to me, and I don't want to lose my home; will you make these Europeans leave me alone?" I promised him that he should not be molested.

Then came a boy named Borafya. He said he wished to be freed, so I sent him to the Government shamba.

Lastly, a lad named Sua appeared, and he said: "I came because I was ordered to by those Europeans at Banani. They told me I must be freed; but I will not leave my master; he treats me like a son, he gives me food and clothes, and everything—to whom shall I go? Please help me, and tell these Europeans I won't leave him."

Hamid-bin-Abdullah told me that he had taken these two young fellows with him when he went to Banani to help him in his work, and he thought the conduct of the Quakers so mean to try and take his lads from him when he was in their employ, that he gave them notice and left them.

VI. *The effect produced upon the Owners by the Decree.*

The immediate effects of the Decree has been to induce the master to treat his slaves with more consideration, and, as far as they can, by little kindnesses to attach them to their estates.

Their daily portion of work has been in many cases reduced, and a complaint is now listened to and a remedy sought for it. Formerly a master could have his slave beaten for idleness, or neglect of orders, or any other petty fault, and this was often done with cruelty and excess; but this has practically come to an end, for the masters know that every charge of cruelty is carefully gone into, and if a master is proved guilty his slave is freed without compensation, and the master fined or imprisoned.

From time to time I get a case of slave beating brought before me, but I find it has either been done by a woman or some particularly stupid Arab or Swahili, and they are very much astonished when they discover what the penalty is. The masters openly

admit that they are afraid to beat their slaves now, for the slaves know they can get them punished if they do.

Charges brought by slaves.—All who know anything about Africans know well that any statement made by a slave must be received with great caution. The habit of lying is so ingrained in the slave that he cannot tell the truth, and when his lie is discovered he has no sense of shame. The ignorance of this trait in the African may be some explanation for the false statements filling the letters of Mr. Burtt.

False murder charges.—During August and September last I had several charges of murder come before me brought by slaves against their masters. The evidence they gave was most circumstantial, and sounded true. I went most carefully into each of these cases, and slave after slave came forward and swore most solemnly as to the truth of his statement. I took every trouble, sending the police to bring the witnesses from all parts; yet these cases completely broke down.

False charge of the murder of a girl.—In one case a master was accused of murdering a girl, the slaves swore that they had seen the murder, and some of them had dug the grave in which she was buried. I then took from each of the witnesses all particulars about the murdered girl. The marks on the throat, for they said she had been strangled, what she was buried in, &c. Then I asked them where the grave was. Here there was much hesitation, until one said he knew where it was. Then I sent a force of police with these people and exhumed the body. This was done, but not a single account they had given was correct, there were no marks such as they had described, and hundreds of neighbours came forward who had known the dead girl, and testified that she had died a natural death.

I sent this lot to the Wali for imprisonment. In another case of a charge of murder which, after giving much trouble had completely broken down, I got the slaves to tell me why they had brought the charge. They said that when they had started they only intended to ask me to obtain better terms for them with their master; but on the way one of them suggested that perhaps I would not listen to such a trivial matter, and then they held a meeting to consider what they should do. One suggested to bring a charge of murder against their master, and this was agreed to. They then carefully worked up their evidence so as to all have the same story, and then came before me with the charge. They all had three weeks in prison.

Owners wishing to free their slaves.—Masters are now beginning to come forward with their slaves to ask that they may be registered, and for the owner to receive the compensation.

The effect produced upon the slaves by the Decree.—The effect produced upon the slaves by the Decree has not been altogether satisfactory. It has led to a good deal of insolence on the part of the slaves, and a general disobedience. It must, however, be remembered that there is a large body of respectable slaves, old family retainers, who keep quite apart from the idle and dissolute ones, and to whom the term "Mtoro" is a disgrace.

The masters complain that in many shambas their slaves simply laugh at them, when they give them an order and tell them openly you dare not beat us now, and if we choose to run away you cannot bring us back, so we shall do as we like. The slaves, especially in the northern part of Pemba, won't work, they spend their time in debauchery. They are often dancing day and night. The cocoanut trees are cut for toddy in defiance of the masters, and much drunkenness and quarrelling ensues.

The Wali and Jemadars have many cases of cutting and wounding brought before them, and the immorality is frightful.

House-breaking and stealing are the natural consequences of the excess, and have been numerous.

Steps have now been taken to remedy this state of things, and many of these dissolute slaves have been arrested and punished.

The unfortunate influence of the Quakers.—Just at this time when the slaves needed every restraining influence to steady them, when finding they were freed from the law of their masters, it was necessary to teach them obedience to the law of the land, some Quaker missionaries purchased a large shamba here and made it a kind of Alsatia for vagrants and runaways of every description. These were told that their masters dare not come there for them, and that they were therefore as good as freed; there was no need to claim their freedom in the legal way. All this was a lesson to these people in lawlessness.

It was not until the Consul-General, Sir Arthur Hardinge, came to Pemba to inquire into some unfounded and disgraceful charges made by these missionaries against the Wali, and he ordered them in future to send all slaves who come to them to the

Government shamba so that they might be registered and freed properly instead of keeping them themselves, that they have to some extent sent on these runaways.

These with all those who come direct, and they are increasing every day, and now number between 200 and 300, will monthly be examined, registered, and freed, and their owners where they were legally held will receive compensation.

The examination of slaves for the purpose identification.—This examination, the noting any body marks, taking height, age, colour, &c., is not done as stated by the Quakers in their letters to the newspapers for the purpose of putting hindrances in the way of the slaves obtaining their freedom, but for the purpose of identification, to prevent a master in collusion with a slave obtaining the compensation money twice over.

VII. *It is necessary that the Edicts of the Decree should be allowed to work slowly.*

Unless we desire to see a general upset and the utter disorganization of the country, the Decree must be allowed to work slowly. Those who are trying to hurry matters have neither the true welfare of the slaves or the country at heart.

To prevent the ruin of the owners.—The owners of property would be utterly ruined by the sudden loss of labour. It is with difficulty that they manage to pay the heavy rate of interest to the Indians on the mortgage of their shambas.

African labour is at best capricious and uncertain, and just at the time when the owner wanted his cloves gathered it would not be forthcoming. The delay of a few days when the cloves are ready destroys the value of a crop.

I am speaking on the supposition of the rapid freeing of all the slaves.

A rich Mission with plenty of money to waste, and willing to pay considerably above the market price of labour, can at any time command plenty of labour, and thus certain people here plume themselves that they have no difficulty in obtaining labour. Of course not; but what about the unfortunate owner of property who has no Committee behind him with unlimited funds, who can barely get a living out of his plantation by paying the lowest market rate of wages, what is he to do?

For the good of the slaves themselves.—But even more, for the moral and general benefit of the slaves themselves it is necessary for the edicts of the Decree to work slowly.

Those who have known the African longest and understand his nature best see great danger to his moral well-being, to peace and order, from the sudden emancipation of all the slaves, or flinging wholesale large bodies of slaves on their own resources. It must be remembered that these slaves are human beings, with the limited ideas and minds of little children, and the bodily strength and passions of full-grown men and women, yet without any power of self-restraint.

Old restraints removed.—The old tribal restraints, which were very powerful, have passed for ever away for them. The fear of their master is no more, and nothing but a quiet and orderly evolution for them, from slavery to freedom, from license to law, will save them from themselves. Slowly they must learn the obligations of freedom, that it does not mean freedom to be idle, and that if a man wishes to live he must work.

VIII. *Prisons and Punishments.*

I have before me two letters of Mr. Burtt, the Quaker missionary, one dated the 8th November, and the other the 20th November, the last was printed in the "Times" on the 31st December. Both these letters are full of the usual false suggestions, half truths, and untruths, which have appeared in all his letters.

I think it well to state the facts.

He says "Mr. Farler paid his first visit of inspection to the prison where there were from forty to fifty slaves confined by the Wali.

Now that is a plain statement, and it is either true or false, and I say deliberately there is not a word of truth in it from beginning to end.

False Suggestion by Mr. Burtt.—The whole purpose of this letter appears to be to suggest to the British public, 1st, an overcrowded tropical prison, 2nd filled with a lot of wretched slaves thrown into prison by a wicked Arab Wali without trial and without cause. These letters are fair samples of the whole of his recent correspondence which has appeared in the "Times."

The prison is the Old Fort, and is the common gaol of the whole of Pemba; it has recently been well fitted up, and there is sufficient space within its walls to accommodate more than 500 prisoners if needed.

False Statements about Imprisoned Slaves.—Mr. Burtt states that all the prisoners were slaves, this is not true. Next he states that there were between forty and fifty in the prison, this also is not true. There were a total number of prisoners in the gaol on the day I paid my visit, Saturday, the 6th November, thirty-six only, and not more than half of these were slaves.

There were many Wapemba in the prison (the original black inhabitants of the island who are all free), these would, of course, by ignorant people, be considered slaves. Next there were Arabs, Indians, and Swahili; in the prison these are all free.

Lastly he states that they were all imprisoned by the Wali, this also is untrue. Some were imprisoned by the Judge and by the Kathis for offences against the civil law.

I may also say that I had visited the prison many times before this, and had questioned the prisoners; but I had no official position and it was not until December last that I received my appointment as Inspector-General of Prisons and Punishments.

Mr. Burtt states in this letter "that it is scarcely credible . . . . there would have been twenty prisoners confined there without proper cause."

This is an absolutely false statement. I carefully examined all the prisoners, and there was not one who did not own up to something, even when they would not admit the full charge against them. After I had visited the prison, and called upon the Wali the same afternoon, I had a talk with him about nine of the prisoners who had either nearly completed their sentence or who had been imprisoned for some trivial offence, and I suggested that he should let them out; he at once consented, and said "Shall we go now?" I replied, no, it is too late to-night and I have a long boat journey, you can let them out to-morrow, and I will come on Monday and see if there are any more we can let out."

That same evening three were let out in the ordinary way.

Out of the thirty-six in prison twelve had owned up to me that they had been imprisoned for theft, and these are the men who, according to Arab law, had been beaten, these were not all slaves.

On the next day, Sunday, the 7th November, Her Britannic Majesty's Vice-Consul, Dr. O. Sullivan, visited the prison with the Wali. The Quakers had told him also their stories; he noted the same nine prisoners which the Wali had promised me the day before to let out; he also suggested that three others had nearly served their term and might be set free, the Wali at once said they would have been let out to-morrow and I will discharge them at once. As the Consul told me afterwards there was not one in without cause, for they all owned to me that they had done something, and yet Mr. Burtt dares to say twenty (meaning slaves) were in prison without any cause. All told, there were not more than eighteen of the prisoners in the prison who were slaves.

The whole of his letter from beginning to end is a tissue of misstatements.

Unfair Attack upon the Wali.—He also makes a most unfair attack upon the Wali. He says "from another course we hear that as Dr. O'Sullivan was likely to visit the gaol(?) on the 7th he (the Wali) liberated twelve, so that the doctor would have no complaint to make."

The Wali acted most fairly and courteously thoughout, and had no knowledge that Dr. O'Sullivan intended to visit the prison on the 7th, or any other day. The whole statement is untrue.

The Dongoni Story.—I suppose by this time the untruthfulness of the statement that the slaves of the Dongoni shamba were sent to Zanzibar and freed by the French Consul, has been exposed; yet this falehood has played a conspicuous part in the recent attempt to get up an agitation against the Zanzibar officials. I believe the request for an interview with the Prime Minister was based upon the Dongoni story.

The Arab mode of procedure in Court.—Since the Decree no master can legally punish his slave himself, no matter what his offence may be. He must bring him before the Wali and make his accusation, and support it by proper evidence.

The Wali's Court is most orderly, just like a Magistrate's Court in England. There is the clerk and registrar, and kathis. No one can now be committed to a term of imprisonment without a proper trial. The case is then registered in the large record book of the Court, and the Wali has a written order of committal made out, and signed by himself, on which is stated the crime, and for how long the criminal is to

be imprisoned. This is again entered in the prison books, which I go through every week when I inspect the prison.

Beating a Slave.—A master beating a slave is treated as a case of common assault, and the slave can, and does, sue his master and get damages. The law does not now recognize a slave—all are equal. Lately the Wali has committed several Arabs to prison for beating their slaves.

(Signed) J. P. FARLER,
His Highness' Commissioner, Pemba.

January 31, 1898.

Inclosure 4 in No. 25.

Abolition of the Legal Status of Slavery.

Particulars of Case No. 107.

Name of Slave	.. ..	Mistura.
Tribe of Slave	.. ..	Yao.
Name of Master	.. ..	Mahomed-bin-Mlomri.
Tribe of Master	.. ..	A Comoro.

Details.

MISTURA was acquired in time of Seyyid Burghash. Has been working as a water-girl, &c., in the house of an Indian, and giving her master 5 rupees monthly. Does not want to work any longer for her master and claims her freedom.

Has large scars from small-pox on her shoulders; scar from boil on left ankle; four holes in each ear. A brown girl, strong, and about 20 years of age.

Height, 4 feet 11½ inches.

Arm, 17 inches.

Compensation awarded to master, 65 rupees.

Note.—Mistura is still working as servant to the Indian.

Zanzibar, June 25, 1897.

Inclosure 5 in No. 25.

Sir L. Mathews to Sir A. Hardinge.

Sir, *Zanzibar, March* 20, 1898.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith, for your information, copy of a letter dated, Chaki-Chaki, Pemba, the 14th March, 1898, from J. P. Farler, Slavery Commissioner, referring to the hostile attitude of the Pemba slaves against their masters. I also inclose a copy of my reply to his letter, and a private letter from Mr. Edib, Customs Master, which may interest you.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LLOYD WM. MATHEWS,
First Minister and Treasurer of the Zanzibar Government.

Inclosure 6 in No. 25.

Commissioner Farler to Sir L. Mathews.

(Extract.) *Chaki-Chaki, Pemba, March* 14, 1898.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that a large and influential deputation of Arabs, introduced by the Wali of Chaki-Chaki, waited upon me this evening.

They stated that the whole of their slaves were in a state of rebellion, and that they refused to do any work or obey any order, and they continued to squat upon their land, retain the houses and shambas that had been given them by their masters in return for their work.

One Arab, Abdullah-bin-Salim Maskiri, told me that a slave of his, Fundi Nyangi, a blacksmith, announced his intention of leaving him and claiming his freedom; and he therefore sent his son to take over all the blacksmith's tools which he had given to Nyangi. He was met by Nyangi and other slaves, armed with bows and arrows, the arrows being tipped with sharp iron arrow-headed points, barbed; Nyangi drew the bow upon him, and he only prevented a discharge of the arrow by rushing at him, and cutting the string of the bow with his sword.

Other Arabs informed me that nightly their shambas were visited by Watoro, who stripped their cocoanut trees of every nut, and were armed with knives, and bows and arrows. They were powerless to protect their property.

In fact, the slaves are under the belief that they are all to be freed, and that they need do no more work for their masters.

All these Arabs were in despair about the future, and put down all their difficulties to the teaching of the Quaker missionaries of Banani.

I told the Wali it was the wish of the Government that all thieves and vagrants should be severely dealt with, and that he must, after trial, imprison and punish with hard labour all who were convicted.

The unrest among the slaves is increasing, and it seems to me that the island is on the verge of being ruined. There will be no labour to gather the next clove crop, and consequently poverty and misery will increase unless strong measures are taken. I see nothing else before us but terrible agrarian wars between slaves and their masters.

I should say that many of these Arabs are ready to emancipate their slaves if they can receive the compensation promised them by the Government.

To-day, in their presence, after our conference was over, I paid one of them 200 rupees for three slaves, whose cases had been gone into by the Wali and myself.

They now have perfect faith in the Government, and I, knowing the inability of the Zanzibar Government to meet the demands for compensation on the part of the Arabs, cannot but feel that they will look upon it as an act of bad faith if they do not receive the compensation they are entitled to by the Decree.

All of them know that the Decree came from the British Government, and if there is a failure to pay them, they will know that it is not the fault of the Zanzibar Government.

Inclosure 7 in No. 25.

Sir L. Mathews to Commissioner Farler.

Sir, *Zanzibar, March* 20, 1898.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 14th instant, referring to a deputation of Arabs having visited you and called your attention to the hostile attitude of their slaves towards them, brought about by the injudicious action of the Friends' Mission in spreading reports that all slaves were to be emancipated, I am of the opinion that the Arabs have possibly exaggerated their case, although I know that there is cause to expect complications in the future.

I have therefore sent one of my most trustworthy officers to Pemba with a small party of selected police to patrol the plantations of the Arab deputation; he has been instructed how to act, and will report fully on the matter.

I will write to the Wali of Chaki-Chaki, and inform him that the patrol has been sent on account of the report made to you.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LLOYD WM. MATHEWS,
First Minister and Treasurer of the Zanzibar Government.

Inclosure 8 in No. 25.

Mr. Edib to Sir L. Mathews.

Dear General Sir Lloyd, *Zanzibar, March* 19, 1898.

THIS is my fourteenth year in Africa, and the following is one of my many experiences, which may perhaps interest you and give to the uninitiated a fair idea of the

numerous difficulties that the Arabs and land-owners of Zanzibar and Pemba have to contend with, in dealing with the freed slaves.

Quite recently my wife bought a shamba in Pemba of about 60 acres, most conveniently situated on the sea-shore, and within ten minutes' sail from the town of Chaki-Chaki.

On the estate there are 1,200 clove trees, cocoanuts, oranges, bananas, and many other kinds of tropical fruits; of the 60 acres about twenty were thickly cultivated with mohogo, nazi, beans, &c., ready for use.

We applied to Mr. Farler for labourers, and he kindly sent us thirteen freed slaves, and the Liwali also sent us nine, making a total of twenty-two men and women. As the shamba was bought solely for camping purposes, we were able to offer them liberal terms, and the choice was given them as to whether they would work for daily wages, and we have all the produce of the shamba, or they to consider it as their own property, taking everything for themselves in lieu of wages and just keeping it always clean and ready for camping. They all preferred the latter and agreed to begin work.

On the first day we went to the shamba and found them already settled in the various huts on the estate, we then gave to each one respectively a set of new clothes, two different tools for ploughing, and some money; handing over at the same time a bag of m'tama (I may mention that previous to this we had sent them dry fish, rice, native mats, beds, and a rice powder) for their consumption, and promised that the supply should be continued until their own rice, &c., was ready; they seemed thoroughly contented, and we left.

For a week or two all went well and we felt satisfied, going every now and then and finding them working; however, it happened that last week we went to Weti for a few days' change, and on our return, after five days' absence, we found the shamba deserted, our trustworthy negroes had pulled up all the mohogo, cut down the bananas, picked all the oranges, taken the beds, cooking utensils, tools, with which we had supplied them, sold all, pocketed the money, and bolted.

The Liwali's askaris have made every inquiry, but up to now no trace of them has been found; and our little shamba, which was so particularly picturesque and well cultivated, now looks like a desolate and neglected tract of land.

I am, &c.

(Signed) R. G. EDIB.

No. 26.

Sir A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(*Received May* 2.)

(Extract.) *Zanzibar, March* 28, 1898.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a letter from the Bishop of East Equatorial Africa, inclosing a Memorial from lady missionaries in Mombasa and its neighbourhood on the subject of concubinage.

The memorialists regret the continued legalization of this institution in the Decree published by the Sultan on the 6th April last, and express the hope that it may not find a place in any measure which may be adopted by Her Majesty's Government for the abolition of the legal status of slavery in His Highness' mainland dominions.

One very important question confronts us at the outset on approaching this subject, viz., the *status* of the children of concubines. Would Bishop Tucker and those who think with him wish these children to cease to be, as is at present the case, by the Sheria and in virtue of their mother's legal status, legitimate and entitled to inherit a share of their father's property, or would he treat them as they would be treated according to strict English law, viz., as the offspring of an union which is not regular wedlock, and, therefore, as bastards? In the latter case he would completely disorganize the whole of local Mahommedan society by imposing the disabilities of bastardy and incapacity to inherit on the majority of its members; for it may, I think, safely be said that the children of concubines, at any rate among the property-owning classes, considerably outnumber the children of free wives. In the former case, if he recognizes with the Mahommedan *lex loci* the children of a concubine as having a legal status and as being joint heirs with the children of the wife, he must necessarily recognize the legal status of their mother (from which their own is derived) with the rights and disabilities which it entails. He cannot logically demand that the Courts should treat the slave mother as a mere prostitute or, at best, mistress, and should at

the same time admit her children who, on this assumption, must be deemed to be *nullius patris*, to the enjoyment of equal rights with the children of the wife.

This is only one of the many problems which mere sweeping denunciations of the degredation of Mahommedan womanhood do not in the least degree help us to solve. I shall, however, have the honour to revert more fully to this question of concubinage when I address to your Lordship the Report called for by you in your despatch of the 31st December, on the working of the Sultan's Decree in the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba.

Inclosure 1 in No. 26.

Bishop Tucker to Sir A. Hardinge.

Sir, *Mombasa, East Africa, March* 16, 1898.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a Memorial from the whole body of lady missionaries connected with the Church Missionary Society working in Mombasa and the neighbourhood, earnestly deprecating the inclusion, in any measure, which may be adopted by Her Majesty's Government for the abolition of the legal status of slavery in Mombasa and the coast districts, of any provision for the continued enslavement of concubines or the legalization of concubinage.

I have also the honour to request that you will be good enough to forward a copy of this Memorial to Lord Salisbury, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. TUCKER, *Bishop*,
East Equatorial Africa.

Inclosure 2 in No. 26.

Memorial.

To Sir Arthur Hardinge, K.C.M.G., Her Majesty's Commissioner for the East Africa Protectorate, and Consul-General for Zanzibar.

WE, the undersigned missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, working in Mombasa and the neighbourhood, desire to express the very earnest hope that in any measure which may be promulgated by Her Majesty's Government abolishing the legal status of slavery in Mombasa and the coast districts of the East Africa Protectorate, no provision will be made for the continued enslavement of concubines or the legalization of concubinage.

We learn with the deepest regret that such a provision exists in the Decree abolishing the legal status of slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba, and should regard any such limitation placed upon the freedom of women within these territories with the utmost distress and abhorrence, believing, as we do, that it would unquestionably tend in the desertion of the continued degredation of the already terribly degraded womanhood of Mombasa and the coast districts.

(Signed) KATE PICKTHALL.
ALICIA HIGGINBOTHAM.
SIBELLA BAZETT.
MINNIE ISABEL CULVERWELL.
EMMA GARDENER.
JANE BIRD TOBIN, *R.U.I.*
MARGARET WATERMEYER.
ALICE KATHLEEN MALONE.
MARIA A. ACKERMAN.
ALICE JANE MADELEY.
EMMA LOCKETT.
MARY LOUISA MASON.
MARY CAROLINE BREWER.

March 14, 1898.

No. 27.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir A. Hardinge.

Sir, *Foreign Office, May* 9, 1898.

I RECEIVED in due course your despatch of the 9th of February, reporting a decision recently given by Her Majesty's Sub-Commissioner for the Seyyidieh Province, sitting as Judge of the Native Provincial Court with the Cadi of Mombasa and another Moslem doctor as assessors, with respect to the division of slaves among the children of their deceased owners.

The case, as it appears from the Sub-Commissioner's report, was one which affected the status of two children of a slave mother, both under seven years of age, and the ruling was that these children, as being slaves, were liable to be disposed of according to the Mahommedan law for the division of slaves.

In your comments on this ruling you point out quite correctly that it indirectly ignores the engagement made to Her Majesty's Government by Seyyid Khalifa in 1889, under which all slaves born after 1889 are declared free, and you then proceed to argue that as that Agreement was never formally promulgated as a Decree it lacks any legal validity, and consequently that the District and Provincial Courts were legally obliged to ignore it.

Her Majesty's Government are unable to accept this view.

They hold that it is impossible at this date to go back upon the Agreement of 1889. It has been widely circulated in this country, has never been questioned by the Government of the Sultan, has always been regarded and frequently quoted as valid by Her Majesty's Government, and was specially included in a historical summary of the steps taken by successive British Governments in the direction of emancipation, which was prefixed to the instructions given to you on the 10th February, 1897, respecting the abolition of the legal status of slavery in the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, which have been laid before Parliament.

To abrogate this particular provision now on the plea of technical validity, is not a course in which Her Majesty's Government can acquiesce, and even if the decision of the Mombasa Court were to be sustained upon appeal to Zanzibar, the Protecting Power could not accept a decision in such violent conflict with its own policy and pledges.

If children born since 1890 are legally held in Mombasa they are equally legally held in Zanzibar, and if the Compensation Courts in the latter island have given compensation for children so held in Zanzibar they have, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, adopted a course which is illegal, and which cannot be permitted to continue.

Whilst the views of Her Majesty's Government on this subject are as above expressed, they gather from your despatch that there is some danger that if they were too abruptly pressed upon the Arab slave-holders, the latter might repudiate all responsibility for the children affected, who would then be left in destitution and exposed to danger of starvation.

You should report as to the steps by which this danger can best be averted.

In conclusion, I have to impress upon you that Her Majesty's Government continue to regard, as they have always hitherto done, the various Decrees and Agreements relating to slavery as progressive steps in the direction of its ultimate abolition, and that any measure inconsistent with this policy such as is here suggested would, in their opinion, be productive of evil rather than of good.

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY

No. 28.

Sir A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(*Received May* 16.)

My Lord, *Zanzibar, April* 15, 1898.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a copy of the annual Zanzibar Agricultural Report for 1897, which has been addressed to Sir Lloyd Mathews by Mr. Lyne, Director of Agriculture for the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba.

Mr. Lyne is stationed at Dunga, in the centre of the Island of Zanzibar, where the

Government has a plantation, and your Lordship will observe (p. 25) that he has been very successful in settling on it some of the slaves who have obtained their freedom under the Decree of the 2nd April, 1897. His account of the settlement of these slaves on the Government land, and of their readiness to work for lower wages than they could obtain as labourers in the town is a very satisfactory symptom, and that they should have been induced so to settle and to develop habits of industry is, I think, greatly to the credit both of Mr. Lyne and of Mr. Last, who was the first, when engaged in constructing the Chuaka road on behalf of the Zanzibar Government, to make Dunga a centre of free labour.

I would also invite your Lordship's attention to Mr. Lyne's remarks on the less satisfactory results which have attended his attempts to employ Indian and Chinese coolies. It will probably be essential, if ever Indian labour is introduced here, that the labourers should be Tamils or natives of the south of India, where the climatic conditions are tropical, rather than, as is the case with most of the coolies employed on the Uganda Railway, inhabitants of the drier and less malarious northern provinces.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR H. HARDINGE.

Inclosure in No. 28.

Extract from Annual Report of the Agricultural Department of Zanzibar, 1897.

Labour.—No labour difficulties have arisen at Dunga in consequence of the abolition of the legal status. Nothing occurred at the time to mark that anything unusual was taking place, but as the Decree began to work, labour began to flow in and has continued to flow since. Most of those who have been taken on at Dunga have built themselves houses on the shamba, married, and apparently settled themselves down permanently.

Women received 6 rupees per month, including food money, and men 8 and 9 rupees. Twelve months ago the wages were 10 and 11 rupees, and they are still at this figure in the town; yet in spite of this disparagement the labourers show no inclination to desert the shamba for the town.

A few Indian and Chinese labourers have been given work at Dunga, but have not been a success, as they frequently get fever when cultivating the soil. They also require higher wages than the natives though they work shorter hours. Indians make good bullock drivers, but we are careful not to engage any till we have ascertained they have been some time in this country and become acclimatized.

No. 29.

Sir A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(*Received May* 17.)

(Extract.) *Zanzibar, April* 23, 1898.

I HAVE the honour, in obedience to the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 31st December, 1897, to submit a Report on the working of the Decree of the 1st of Zilkada, 1315 (6th April, 1897), abolishing the legal status of slavery in the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. As a little over a year has now elapsed since the publication of the Decree, the moment seems a specially suitable one for reviewing its effects.

Number of Slaves freed.—2,000 slaves have obtained their freedom in consequence of the Decree, and 2,278 more have, without claiming papers of freedom, made contracts with their masters as free labourers.

These, although they have not been formally registered as freemen, and have not formed the subject of any claim to compensation, have now ceased for all intents and purposes to be slaves, so that if they are added to those who have received actual letters of emancipation, and have in most cases severed their connection with their former owners, the total number who have taken advantage in one form or another of the

Decree is 4,278, distributed in the following proportions between the two islands :—

ZANZIBAR.

Freed by Courts—		
Males	146	
Females	123	
	—	269
Freed by masters out of Court—		
Males	232	
Females	466	
	—	698
Granted freedom papers, not yet returned for registration, so that details as to sex, mode of emancipation, &c., are still wanting		200
Total		1,167
Contracted with masters as free labourers		2,078
Total, Zanzibar		3,245

PEMBA.

Freed by Courts—		
Males	245	
Females	233	
	—	478
Awaiting settlement of their masters' compensation claims		300
Freed summarily by Walis for ill-treatment or illegal tenure		55
Total		833
Contracted to work as free labourers, about		200*
Total for Pemba		1,033
Total for both islands—		
Received or on point of receiving freedom papers		2,000
Contracted as free labourers without applying to Courts for freedom papers		2,278
Total		4,278

Of the female slaves three only were concubines, "redeemed" in accordance with Article 5 of the Decree, "with the sanction of the Court." All these three cases arose in Pemba.

No concubines have as yet applied for freedom in Zanzibar. A few besides those mentioned above as freed have done so in Pemba, but have afterwards come to an arrangement, by the mediation of the Court, with their masters. Their complaints are usually preference shown by the master for some other girl, or the withholding of some promised piece of finery; and these small domestic disputes can, as a rule, be composed with a little management by a friendly third party.

Compensation.—The sums awarded in compensation amount to :—

	Rupees.
In Zanzibar	12,017
Pemba	4,330
Total	16,347

Or (taking the rupee at 16 to the £), 1,043*l.*

The average amount granted per slave has been 60 rupees, or between 3*l.* and 4*l.*

In looking over Mr. Farler's books in Pemba the other day, I noticed occasional cases of 80 rupees, and one or two of 20 rupees only.

In one or two cases in Zanzibar 100 rupees, and in one, 150 rupees, were awarded.

Assuming, therefore, compensation to have been given only for slaves freed by the Courts, whose total number is 707, it would appear to have been granted in about 300 cases, or less than half of those which came before the Courts. The latter have not, of course, taken the extreme view of the Anti-Slavery Society that those only are legal slaves who can be shown to have been born in the islands or introduced before 1873, but have recognized the rights of innocent purchasers or heirs who

* *Note.*—Mr. Farler knows himself of 100 such contracts, but believes from reports that about 100 more have been made, of which he has no direct knowledge.

bought or inherited slaves without guilty knowledge of, or complicity in, their original illegal introduction.

The Treaty of 1873, though it bound the Sultan to prohibit the introduction of slaves, did not say that such slaves once introduced became *ipso facto* free, whilst the Supplementary Treaty of 1875 allowed the introduction of "domestic slaves," who, once introduced, were legitimate subjects of sale, inheritance, or gift, and only provided for their being freed, if "detained on board the ship conveying them, against their will."

Cost of Decree to Zanzibar Government.—The total additional expenditure entailed upon the Zanzibar Government, inclusive of compensation, has been—

	Rupees.
To 31st December, 1897	106,000
7th April, 1898	34,022
Total	144,022

Or, at 16 rupees to the £, 9,001*l.*

The analysis of the expenditure is as follows:—

ZANZIBAR.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Paid in compensation..	12,017	0	0
English Commissioner and staff	15,023	10	3
Rations for officers and Askaris	23,746	10	0
Miscellaneous—sundry buildings, steam-launch and boat expenses, boat boys, &c.	6,439	15	9
Walis, Courts, extra police—			
Chuaka pay list	6,268	12	0
Mwera pay list	7,730	6	0
Kokotoni pay list	7,435	11	6
Ungujakuu pay list (Chuaka district)	1,545	0	0

PEMBA.

Paid in compensation..	4,330	0	0
English Commissioner and staff	11,550	0	0
Miscellaneous—sundry buildings, cost of steam launch, boats, and wages	7,184	14	0
Pay of Walis, Kathis, Askaris, &c.	34,830	4	9
Cost of running "Kilwa" and "Barawa" to Pemba in connection with Decree	5,919	13	9
Total	144,022	2	0
	(or 9,001*l.*).		

Vagrancy, &c.—It was always anticipated that one of the results of the Decree, removing, as it did, the old control of masters over their slaves, which was the chief restraint they had hitherto known, would be, at any rate at first, a marked increase of vagrancy, drunkenness, and thieving, the three vices to which the slave class is most prone, and the Commissioners and Walis were accordingly instructed to impose terms of imprisonment or hard labour varying from a few days or a week for vagrancy (*i.e.*, wandering about without a home or visible means of subsistence) and drunkenness, when accompanied by disorderly conduct, and of a month, or several months in aggravated cases, for stealing.

The following figures show the number of slaves or freed slaves convicted under this instruction:—

ZANZIBAR.

Vagrants	335	
Drunkards	461	
Thieves	627	
	—	1,441

PEMBA.

All classes*	95
Total	1,536

* The Pemba returns do not give the heads of convictions.

The statistical information given above will enable your Lordship to form a general idea of the working of the Decree, but I ought to touch perhaps more fully on its practical effects:—

1. Upon the relations of master and slave;
2. Upon the general condition of the slave population; and
3. Upon the industry of the islands.

I should premise by saying that I believe the general purport of the Decree to be thoroughly understood throughout the islands, except perhaps among the aboriginal Wahadim populations of the districts of Chuaka and Kokotoni, and of the east coast of Pemba, who are mainly fishermen, and whose slaves are neither household nor praedial, and have almost all, I imagine, been illegally acquired, but living, as they do, on a footing of entire social equality with their so-called owners, are, I believe, quite indifferent to its provisions. I noticed that some criticisms were made in Parliament on the fact that the Decree was published, as are all official documents in Zanzibar, not in Swahili, but in Arabic, and a suspicion seemed to exist that this was done with a view to keeping back its contents from the slave population. But that population being entirely illiterate, the actual language of its issue made no difference to them, nor, even could they have read it, would they have understood the propositions of general application couched in legal form which a State document of that kind must contain. The only way for them to learn its true meaning was to see its practical operation in individual cases. First of all they learnt, from the publication of the Decree throughout the islands by Agents of the Government who were charged to make its contents known, that a change, the exact nature of which they were slow to apprehend, had come over their status. Then came as a consequence complaints by them, which they had often feared to make before, of overwork, harsh treatment, &c., and gradually they learnt, and repeated the news to one another, that they could not be compelled to remain with or to labour for their masters against their will. From all I can hear, there are very few slaves now in either island who are ignorant of the meaning of the Decree. Vice-Consul O'Sullivan assures me that it is known from one end of Pemba to the other, and that he has himself heard slaves telling one another that the masters have had their time in the past, but that now it is the turn of the slaves.

1. *Relations of Master and Slave.*—Though some of the Arabs are too stupid to understand the consequences of the change, and still strive to drive hard bargains with their slaves, whilst others, particularly the younger and more passionate men, in their anger at the slaves' new spirit of independence, when incensed with them, assault and therefore lose them, the majority of the masters are realizing the importance of retaining them on the land by generous treatment, and either freeing them themselves, or, without formally freeing them, making agreements with them as if they were already free labourers. These agreements usually stipulate that the slave shall have an allotment of on an average 4 acres, the produce of which shall be entirely his own, and that he shall be free to devote his whole time to it for three days a week, but that on the remaining four he shall, in lieu of rent, work gratis for six hours a day, namely, from 8 A.M. till 2 P.M. (or a total of twenty-four hours a week) on the master's land, and shall receive pice, or an equivalent in produce, calculated on the local market rates, for all work done for his employer outside that specified period. Up till now these agreements have been made verbally, sometimes in the presence of the Walis or English Commissioners, oftener between master and slave alone, but the Government has now ordered that they shall in future be drawn up wherever possible in writing, and registered by the Courts, and shall specify the period for which they are to run, which will probably in most cases be two years, that being the term which General Sir Lloyd Mathews considers fairest to both sides. The Sultan has set the example of this system, and the consequence has been that, of the several thousand slaves living and working on his lands, not one has, so far as I know, asked for freedom.

The system, however, does not always work well, especially in the case of the smaller and poorer landowners, who cannot pay their slaves in pice for work done over and above the weekly term of twenty-four hours which represents the rent of the slave or freed slaves' allotment.

The slaves will work fairly willingly for pice, but not for produce, which they have the trouble of having to take to the towns to sell before they can turn it into money, and which they find it simpler to steal straight off, well knowing that their masters cannot now afford to be too severe upon their delinquencies, for fear of losing their labour altogether. The consequence has been that in many cases their

agreements with their masters are only observed by them so long as they care to keep to them, and the complaints of the Arabs on this head are very bitter.

At Mwera, where I went about ten days ago to attend the Wali's Court, and where a number of Arab country gentlemen had gathered to meet me, one landowner after another complained to me that of the slaves with whom he had made agreements only half, or sometimes less, turned up to work on his days, and those only fitfully, and that, not satisfied with taking the produce of their own allotments, they helped themselves most freely to their masters'. One Sheikh had had all his cocoa-nuts stolen; a second, on calling on his former slaves to pick his trees or take the crop into town, had been told that they were disinclined for work that day, and were going to a "ngoma" (native dance) or to drink "tembo," and so on; still rather than turn them all off the land and see it lapse at once into jungle the masters acquiesce in this unsatisfactory state of things, in the hope perhaps that the inevitable reaction from servitude to unwonted license may spend its force, or that the authorities may bring pressure on the slaves to make them work, idle and impudent labourers being after all, in their opinion, a lesser evil than no labour at all. It is, I think, the liberty which the helplessness of the master now secures to the slaves on so many plantations that accounts for the comparatively small number of them who have applied for their freedom to the Courts. In Pemba the other day Mr. Farler told me that some slaves who had long refused to work had been brought to him in despair by the owner of the land on which they lived with a request that he would free them and give him the compensation money. The slaves, however, objected to this, and said they refused to be freed, as then they would have to leave their master's plantation, on which, they significantly observed, there was an abundance of very good cocoa-nuts. Mr. Farler, owing to some interruption in our conversation, did not tell me how he had settled the matter, but I have since heard of other cases in which Arabs have freed and discharged lazy slaves, notwithstanding the protests of the latter, and of others in which slaves so discharged have refused to quit their holdings and have resisted eviction by force, in some instances attacking their masters and cutting down or destroying trees and crops. Cases of the latter class have been commonest in the Wilayet of Weti (northern part of Pemba), where the slaves are more savage, and were more cruelly treated by their masters in the day of their power than was ever the case in Zanzibar; and the Government has therefore strengthened its police in that part of Pemba, and sent an European officer there, with orders to patrol the district and arrest persons robbing plantations at night or rioting and breaking the peace. A number of arrests have, I heard when in Pemba this week, been effected, and if severe examples are made of criminal slaves this outbreak of disorder will no doubt be satisfactorily checked. Personally, I believe that the best way to keep the slaves on the land and make them diligent would be a small regular pecuniary payment in return for their work, but though a limited number of Arab landowners are now paying their slaves wages, with fairly satisfactory results, the majority of them have not sufficient cash in hand to do so.

The foregoing remarks apply, of course, almost entirely to the rural slaves.

The town slaves as a class are a good deal more intelligent, and it is from their ranks that the great majority of the applicants for freedom in the Island of Zanzibar have come. Yet though every slave in the city of Zanzibar is aware that he can obtain his freedom for the asking, by simply going to Mr. Alexander, who issues letters of emancipation on behalf of Sir Lloyd Mathews, the numbers who have actually claimed it have fallen far short of my anticipation.

Scarcely any of the slaves of the wealthier class of Arabs living in the capital, such as the Princes of the Royal family, or the great native magnates like Abdullah-bin-Selaam, Tippoo Tib, &c., have done so. The reason for this I believe to be that these slaves when they actually live in the wealthy city Arab's household are better clothed and fed, and lead an easier and more luxurious life than the poorer class of freemen, and that, even when they live outside the household as day labourers, or as servants of Europeans, paying a portion of their earnings to their master, they liked to think that when disabled by sickness or out of work they can fall back upon their master's house as a home, and that, come what may, he will never let them starve.

Mr. Alexander, who sees more of the working of the Decree in the city than any other European, is very strongly of this opinion, and has seen it confirmed, curiously enough, by actual instances within his own household. One of his servants, so he tells me, is a slave of Tippoo Tib's, and pays the latter, out of his monthly wage of 6 rupees, the disproportionately large sum of 5 rupees. Mrs. Alexander, on hearing

of this, thought the arrangement a very unfair one, and asked the boy why he did not go to her husband to be freed, so as to keep all his wages for himself. He answered that he would not like to do this, that a rupee a-month was sufficient for his needs, that his master gave him clothes, and a big feed on great Mahommedan festivals, and took him in when he had nowhere else to go to; that recently, when he had been sick, Tippoo Tib had looked after him and fed him, and after he had cured him had sent him for change of air to the country, and that he would be foolish to forfeit all these advantages and privileges.

Another boy, also a servant in Mr. Alexander's house, but a freeman, expressed regret that he was not like his fellow-servant, the slave of a rich and generous master, as in his case he had to give the whole of his wages to his parents, who, if he happened to be sick or out of work, simply left him to shift for himself.

At the opposite end of the social scale the slave of the town artisan or small trader has also shown, for a somewhat different reason, a scanty disposition to avail himself of the Decree.

This class of slave is so similar in tastes and habits to his so-called master, with whom he lives, like the Wahadim slaves, on the footing of equality, eating out of the same dish, and scarcely conscious of inferiority, that his relation to his master is often one of partnership rather than subordination.

The slaves most disposed to claim freedom are those of the middle-class native, who is at once too superior to them to treat them as equals, and too poor or avaricious to afford them any privileges and luxuries which they enjoy in an aristocratic Arab household, where the slave, smartly dressed and well-fed, takes a pride in his dependence on a great man, and despises, rather than envies, the ragged freeman.

2. *Effect of the Decree on the Slave population.*—The earlier reports I have forwarded to your Lordship on this subject leave no doubt that whilst the masters have, as was foreseen to be inevitable, been placed by the Decree in a somewhat disadvantageous position, the slaves have, as a whole, greatly gained by it, and are now, in relation to their wants, in a situation which the proletariate of most European States would regard with envy.

A six hours' day for four days in the week in return for an allotment of several acres of good land, freedom from taxation in every form, from military service, from the fear of the workhouse in old age, and from all the numerous cares and burdens, direct or indirect, which weigh upon the European labourer, combine to make their lot a very easy one, and if the names of slave and slavery still survive in the common parlance of the people, the institution itself, long moribund, is, as a reality, completely dead.

In the case of many of the slaves who worked away from their masters in the houses and shops of Indians, the change has not made so much difference as to those who carry on independent trades of their own, as fishermen, sellers of petty wares produced by them, &c., and can now retain the whole of their wages; for as I reported to your Lordship in my despatch of the 4th July, 1897, the Indian, always ready to turn every new situation to his own profit, has, in many instances, deducted from the wages of his slave employé the portion which the latter, in the old days of the legal recognition of slavery, was compelled to pay to his Arab or negro master.

But, reviewed as a whole, it is certain that, from the slave's point of view, the change has been a great and a beneficial one, and that, even in the few out-of-the-way corners where its full meaning may be still imperfectly understood, it is realized as effectively protecting him against any cruel or brutal treatment.

3. *Effect of the Decree upon Industry.*—In the towns the Decree has not perceptibly affected the labour market. At first, as I reported to your Lordship in my despatch of the 4th July, 1897, there was a mutinous spirit displayed among some of the "vibarua" of Zanzibar, somewhat similar to that which the rural landowners are now experiencing, especially in the north of Pemba, and they refused to work or carry out their contracts, on the ground that they were now all free, so much so, that one of the principal English merchants here requested my intervention with the Zanzibar Government. The latter sent out police, the workmen "on strike" were told that they would be punished for breach of contract, and in the presence of this display of firmness on the part of the authorities, the effervescence speedily subsided. It may be hoped that it will be the same in the country districts, but there is this difference, that in the towns the men are paid regular wages by the Europeans or Indians employing them, which, as I have explained, is rarely the case with those working on the shambas of the Arabs, whilst a strike could more easily be dealt with in the

narrow area of a town than when spread over a number of scattered and isolated plantations.

The rate of wages, about 10 rupees a-month in the towns, and 8 rupees a-month in the country for the ordinary eight hours' day, is much the same as during the period anterior to the Decree.

"I am inclined to think," writes a correspondent who has a special knowledge of the subject, "that the Decree has had little effect on the labour market, either as regards wages or the supply of labour.

"Upon the common ordinary slave, man or woman, it has had the effect of making the individual more lazy and insolent, but he does not care to separate himself from his present attachments.

"I think there is a gradual general tendency towards a demand for a higher rate of wages, but this is owing to the steady advance of civilization and commercial interests and requirements, not to any effect the Decree may have had."

Last year's clove crop, which, for causes independent of the Decree, was a very poor one, was not affected by it, for the knowledge that they could not be compelled to work had not yet sufficiently spread among the slaves to make any perceptible difference in the picking. This year, however, it seems to be generally anticipated that they will have in many places to be induced to pick their master's trees, where the latter are not in a position to offer them payment in money by a promise of half the crop picked by them.

This means, of course, that the land-owners will only get half the harvest, a a circumstance which will precipitate the bankruptcy of some of them, and, their land being a drug in the market, the conversion of a good many acres now under cultivation into waste land, and will, therefore, indirectly affect, at any rate, for a time, the future revenue and agricultural prosperity of the country.

Compensation.—The effect of the grant of compensation has undoubtedly been to render the operation of the Decree more gradual than wou'd otherwise have been the case. Had there been no compensation a slave would not have had to wait to be registered as a freeman until his master's claims to compensation in respect of his services could be investigated, and the process of emancipation would have been far more rapid and simple. It may be doubted, however, whether the delay which the compensation clause entails is not often as beneficial to the slave as to his former master. A slave in a moment of pique, or yielding to the sudden impulses to which the African, like a child, is very prone, will frequently run away from his old surroundings, without any very definite idea as to what awaits him in the outer world, and may afterwards have occasion to repent at leisure of the perhaps irrevocable step he has taken in haste, without fully realizing all its consequences. He will hear, for instance, that there is work for him with good wages as a porter on the mainland; without inquiry into its nature, he will, from mere love of change, suddenly sever his ties with his old home, and when afterwards, having spent all his advance of wages in drink, he toils along on the Uganda road with a weight of 60 lbs. on his head, under the strict discipline of an European caravan leader impatient of malingering or idleness, will doubt perhaps whether he was not better off in his own holding on the Zanzibar plantation, and, amidst the dreary steppes of Masailand, sigh regretfully, as does every true Swahili, for the "scent of the cocoa-nuts and the spice trees." The necessity under which he now lies of appearing before the Compensation Courts gives him time to review his position, and to learn from the Magistrate that his freedom does not mean that he can squat where he chooses on his master's land, and at the same time refuse him all payment either in rent, in produce, or in labour. His master, who must also appear there, may hold out to him inducements to return to the land as a free labourer and under better terms than formerly as regards his work and share of profits, and an arrangement may be effected between them, with the friendly assistance of the Court, which need, of course, be only experimental, but which may in the long run prove much more advantageous to him than if he were to be turned loose upon the world.

The Friends' Mission.—Undoubtedly, with only one English Magistrate to inquire into and assess compensation in an island such as Pemba, the pause described above is often unduly long, and the "Friends' Mission," whom I recently visited at Banani, complained to me that it really deterred many slaves from applying for freedom, as they were kept at work on a low wage on the Government estate at Tundawa until their cases had been settled for the purposes of compensation. I told Mr. Burtt that I saw no reason why slaves should not be permitted, especially young slaves, who could be kept under greater control at his Mission than grown-up ones, to take up

work on his land at Banani whilst waiting for the settlement of their cases, provided he would make himself responsible for their production before the Court when the time came, but that he must see the importance in the case of a Government like that of Zanzibar, whose pecuniary resources were limited, of inquiring very carefully into all compensation claims, so as not either to defraud the master whom the State had pledged itself to indemnify on certain conditions, nor, on the other hand, rashly to indemnify him where these conditions could not be shown to exist.

With respect to the "Friends' Mission," which has a certain importance in connection with the Decree, owing to the influence which its accounts of its working in the press, and especially in the "Anti-Slavery Reporter," have had upon public opinion at home, my earlier reports will have enabled your Lordship to understand the friction which for the last few months has existed between its members and some of the local officials, particularly Archdeacon Farler and the Wali Suleiman-bin-Mubarak.

The "Friends" have undoubtedly been, in some instances, tactless and injudicious in their zeal for the immediate emancipation of all the slaves; they have entirely ignored the pecuniary difficulties of the Government, the feelings of the free population, the interests of agriculture, and all the numerous aspects of the problem which responsible persons, aware of how much easier it is to destroy than to reconstruct, have constantly present to their minds, and they have not shrunk from publishing, in support of hasty and often utterly unfounded assertions, unworthy imputations as to the motives and personal character of men like Mr. Farler, not less philanthropic but more experienced than themselves, who ventured to differ from their methods.

I spoke quite frankly to one of them, Mr. Armitage, on the subject of some of Mr. Burtt's letters, and also pointed out to Mr. Burtt himself how for a wealthy English Mission to pay freed slaves a higher rate of wages than the ordinary market-rate was equivalent to making it impossible for the impoverished native cultivator to employ free labour—the introduction and diffusion of which, throughout Pemba, both he and we had equally at heart. Both gentlemen received my remarks courteously, in the friendly spirit in which they were made, and expressed their desire to co-operate and maintain the most cordial relations with the Zanzibar Government officials.

As an industrial Mission they may do much good by accustoming their labourers to habits of regularity and industry, by educating the children as artisans, and bringing up a new generation, to whom freedom shall not mean idleness. Their interpreter, a man of bad character, on whom, when they knew nothing of the native languages, they necessarily depended for their information, and who was their authority for many of the mischievous statements made by them in the press about the Wali and others, has now been sentenced to a month's hard labour for peculiarly brutal treatment of his wife, and has, in consequence, been dismissed by them from their service; and with him, I hope, has been removed an evil influence, largely responsible for past misunderstandings.

Effects of the Decree upon the Slave Trade.—It was always supposed here that the abolition of the status of slavery would give a stimulus to the export Slave Trade, as many masters would endeavour to dispose of their slaves in the Arabian markets, where they would fetch as much as 500 rupees, rather than receive the small compensation of 60 or 70 rupees, which was all they could hope to get from Government.

Special vigilance has accordingly been exercised by the Zanzibar authorities as well as by Her Majesty's ships, particularly at the north end of Pemba, and the precautions imposed by the Brussels Act on the embarkation of negro passengers have been enforced with more rigour than usual. This year, since the south-west monsoon began to break, the number of Arabs proceeding with slaves to Muscat has been so unusually large as to arouse our suspicions, and in many cases to make us refuse permission to slaves to accompany their masters to Arabia, even when the slaves professed themselves desirous and anxious to do so. This may seem an interference with the freedom of the slaves, but it is idle to treat the African negro as if he were really a full-grown freeman. He is, as one of the greatest of African authorities, Mr. Rhodes, has so truly observed, still a child, and both in the matter of his labour and of his freedom to proceed to Slave Trade countries, requires to be treated as a child and protected against himself. It is, moreover, a common trick of the slave-traders to produce a number of natives, who personate the negro passengers and profess a desire to go to Muscat, and for whom at the last moment an equivalent number of

real slaves are substituted, and thrust, in their ignorance and apathy, into the dhows.

Sir Lloyd Mathews has accordingly, with my approval, made a rule that, except in special instances, and where special guarantees are given, no African negro shall be permitted to proceed in charge of an Arab, or on a native vessel, to Arabia, unless he can show not only that he is willing to go there, but that he can speak or at least has some knowledge of the Arabic language, this being a sure test of his really being, what these negroes are often persuaded by their masters to profess to be, the *bonâ fide* domestic servant of an Arab whose home is in Oman. The import Slave Trade into Zanzibar has long been practically extinct, and has not, therefore, been affected either one way or another by the abolition of the legal status of slavery.

Forty-three persons have been convicted during the past year of offences connected with the Slave Trade, and have in each case been sentenced to one year's imprisonment with hard labour. Of these, thirty-seven were convicted of kidnapping and six of selling slaves.

No dhows engaged in the Slave Trade have, so far as I am aware, been captured during the past year in the waters of the Zanzibar Protectorate. At Mombasa a dhow, the "Fath-el-Rahman," flying the French flag, was arrested by my orders in September, 1897, on suspicion of having a cargo of kidnapped slaves on board, and these suspicions being confirmed when the vessel was searched by our police the captain was duly lodged in prison.

In consequence of a protest by the French Consul against my action, Mr. Cave was instructed (I being absent at the time in Ukamba) to send the dhow and master to Zanzibar, whence they were sent on for the latter's trial to the French Court at Réunion, with what result I have not yet heard. There has been since the abolition of the legal status a marked increase at all the ports along the coast in the number of dhows flying the French flag, and passages by them are twice as expensive as those asked for the journey to Arabia on an ordinary native vessel.

I ought perhaps before closing this despatch to refer to two features in the Decree which have given occasion to much adverse criticism, namely, the maintenance of the institution of concubinage and the application of its provisions by native Magistrates.

1. *Concubinage.*—An impression seemed to prevail among many critics of the Article on this subject that a master could in virtue of it keep any female slave in servitude by merely declaring her a "concubine," and Bishop Tucker has lent the sanction of his great authority to this delusion. Any person, however, acquainted with native customs would know that a concubine is a slave girl, whom her master, having begotten a child by her, or having only cohabited with her, removes from the category of common slaves, and has to treat for all purposes as a wife. The status of a concubine is familiar to all readers of the Bible, but whilst the Bible makes her children the legal inferiors of those of the wife, and proclaims that "the son of the bond-woman shall not be heir with the son of the free-woman," Islam, as becomes the creed of the children of Hagar, puts the offspring of the concubine on the same level as the offspring of the wife, and treats Ishmael as equal with Isaac. Indeed, it may safely be said that in almost all Mahommedan societies, in which there is a large slave population, the children of concubines outnumber those of wives, at least among the propertied classes. A glance at the reigning dynasties of the various Moslem States is very instructive on this point.

Of the four sons of Seyyid Saïd who succeeded one another on the Throne of Zanzibar, three, Barghash, Khalifa, and Ali, were the sons of Circassian and Abyssinian slaves. The late Sultan Hamid was the son of a Georgian, Seyyid Khalid, who tried to usurp the throne at his death, of a Circassian concubine. The present Sultan's mother was a free Arab, but his only son is the child of a Comoro slave girl, and since the death of his wife, a daughter of Seyyid Majid, his harem has consisted solely of women of this class.

Nor is this peculiar to Zanzibar. In Egypt the late Khedive was the son of a concubine, and his successor has elevated a slave girl, whose two children are, of course, legitimate, to the same position. In Turkey the mothers of the Sultans have been for many generations, with scarcely an exception, slave concubines. In Persia the late Shah's eldest son, who at one time was talked of as heir, was the child of a slave girl, and although among an Aryan people with stricter views as to purity of pedigree servile blood may have been deemed a disqualification for the throne, it has not prevented the Zil-el-Sultan from attaining the highest honours accessible to a subject. In Afghanistan the Ameer's heir, Habibullah, was born of a concubine, and the same

would probably be found to be the case among most of the reigning dynasties of India. And as are the dynasties, so are the great families, and below the great families most respectable middle-class households throughout Arab Mahommedan society. To abolish concubinage, therefore, as a legal incident of the Moslem system of polygamy would disturb the whole of the Moslem social organization. As I pointed out with respect to Bishop Tucker's protest against the system, you cannot degrade the slave mother to the position of a mere prostitute or mistress, whose connection with the father of her children is a temporary one, terminable at will, and at the same time treat any children she may bear him as possessing a recognized legal status, and as entitled to inherit on equal terms with the issue of the regular wife. Their legal status depends on hers, and the two stand or fall together. On the other hand, to treat these children as bastards, incapable of sharing in the family inheritance, would be to strike a blow at the present Mahommedan law of succession to property, and at the vested rights of a large class of our subjects, which would excite a just and widespread irritation. It must not be forgotten as an explanation of the undoubted fact that concubines are in all Moslem communities in which slavery is widespread—the cases of India and Turkey are, of course, different—more prolific as a general rule than wives, that with Arabs and Swahilis the sentiment of love, both in its sensual and in its more refined aspects (so far as the latter can be said to exist at all amongst Africans and Easterns) is generally far stronger towards their concubines than towards their wives. The concubine is selected by her master or lover for her personal attractions; the wife he has never spoken to, he has not, indeed, even seen her face, until, after the marriage ceremony is complete, he enters the recesses of the harem, and for the first time himself removes her veil.

These details may perhaps appear unnecessary, and even unseemly, but in justice to our native populations, whose domestic institutions we are asked to uproot in obedience to alien social conceptions, it is only fair to point out that analogies drawn from the entirely different social system of Christendom or phrases about "womanly sanctity and chastity" are here entirely misleading and out of place.

The institution of concubinage has no real connection with the economic aspects of slave labour; it belongs, as I observed in a letter to Bishop Tucker, to that borderland between polygamy and domestic slavery in which in an Eastern society the one blends, so to speak, with the other, and on which it is most difficult to encroach, without disturbing, in a manner which any people of spirit would resent, the domestic life of the subject race.

It ought, however, I think, to be made clear to those who criticize the law of Islam on this subject without personal experience of its working that a slave woman, in Zanzibar at least, cannot be made a concubine against her will, and, further, that only those Arabs who are in fairly prosperous circumstances can maintain a large number even of voluntary concubines in their harems. For the upper class concubine must have her own apartments and servants; she is apt to be somewhat exacting; and, even if she were not so, the jealousy of the upper class Arab requires for her some semblance of dignified seclusion. I have known of several cases in which slave girls whom their masters wished to raise to the rank of concubines, either from fear of the jealous vengeance of wives, imbued with the fierce spirit of a Sarah or a Queen Eleanor, or else from reluctance to exchange their freedom for the stately captivity of the harem, with the veil, closed carriages, and curtain, concealed behind which the Arab lady can alone hold converse even with many of her nearest male relations, have persistently refused to accept the status offered them, and have claimed and obtained emancipation from slavery in accordance with the provisions of the Decree. For paradoxical as it may appear, the slave girl, who can run about the town unveiled, and, indeed, scarcely clothed at all, is really far freer than the free Arab lady, and has often no desire to exchange the unchecked liberty of her servile condition for the restraints of Mahommedan married life.

Another point which should, I think, be laid stress on in fairness to the framers of the Decree is that only those concubines who are "mustanlada," *i.e.*, have borne children, these children being legitimate for all purposes in the eyes of the law of Islam, are really assimilated by it to wives. It would certainly be a very unpleasant thing for those children to see their mother, under the influence of some caprice, leave their father and become the wife or mistress of a stranger perhaps, as in some cases in Zanzibar, where concubines have been enticed on board a ship and freed under the Brussels Act, of some passing European. From a moral point of view it is, I think, undoubtedly better that in a polygamous society the concubine who has once become a mother should, so far as possible, be treated as a wife rather than as a harlot, but in

the case of concubines who have borne no children, the clause allowing for their redemption with the sanction of the Courts may, and probably will as time goes on, be applied with increasing liberality. It was very important when the Decree was first issued to reassure the Mahommedan population on a point as to which they were naturally sensitive; but as they gradually become accustomed to the new ideas embodied in the measure, we shall doubtless be able to render it more elastic in the case even of "mustanlada" concubines. Slowly and gradually in individual cases precedents favourable to freedom in this respect will be created; the process will be spread over a term of years, during which the Arabs will grow more and more accustomed to it; but we shall have avoided the sense of wrong and injury which could hardly have failed to be aroused, if, simultaneously with a blow dealt at their material interests, we had by an immediate and sweeping abolition of concubinage, and of all that is bound up with it, seemed to invade their private family life.

The Walis.—There are in my opinion two good reasons for allowing the Walis, as the principal native officials, a leading part in the application of the Decree, namely: (1) economy, and (2) regard for native public opinion and native interests. At present we have five Walis, three for Zanzibar and two for Pemba and two English Commissioners, one for Pemba and one for Zanzibar, through whom the Decree is worked. If in place of these five Walis we had five English Magistrates, the Zanzibar Government, already heavily burdened by the expenses of the Decree, would be charged with an extra expenditure of very nearly 5,000*l.* more. You can scarcely get a competent English Magistrate to reside in an unhealthy tropical island for less than 500*l.* or 600*l.* a-year; but his actual salary is only a portion of what he costs. You must provide him in addition to it with a decent house, with a staff of clerks and interpreters, with a boat or a horse to move about his district, with medicines and some provision for medical assistance, and by the time all these needs have been satisfied he will be found to cost nearly, if not more than, 1,000*l.* a-year. And when all this has been done he will still have after all to trust for some time to the native officials for his knowledge of the country and people, and the latter will necessarily be the medium through which he will view many of the problems with which he is called upon to deal. It would, however, not be possible for the Zanzibar Government to provide the sum requisite for so large a European staff, and it must, therefore, perforce, fall back upon the native machinery already available.

In the second place, the maintenance of the old native Executive affords a guarantee to the natives that their interests will receive sympathetic consideration at the hands of the Protecting Power, and has rendered the Decree far more acceptable to them than if it had also entailed, in addition to its other features, the supersession of natives by English, of Mussulman by Christian officials. No Government, however strong, can entirely disregard and trample on the public opinion, or even the prejudices of the governed, and laws which may be good in themselves become, in a sense, harsh and unjust once they seem so to the people on whom they are imposed. By associating the principal Arabs with the application of the reform which we have initiated, we have shown our desire to induce them, and through them the leading natives, to co-operate with us, and to identify, so far as we can do so, their interests with ours, whilst the supervision of the English Commissioners, and in the capital of the English officials of the Sultan's Government, has checked any disposition on their part to defeat its substantial objects. If in Pemba the two Walis are old-fashioned and conservative, the three Walis of Zanzibar are all young men of modern ideas, so far as these can be apprehended by an Eastern, and sincerely anxious to merit the approval of the Sultan and Sir Lloyd Mathews by carrying out the instructions of the Government.

As Arabs of high rank (those of Mwera and Kokotoni belong to the Sultan's tribe, and are closely connected with his house), they have an influence with the natives of all classes, which no English stranger could for some time command, and a knowledge of native customs and native feeling which renders them most useful intermediaries between the European officials of the Protectorate and the subject Mahommedan population. They have so far done their work very well, being well aware of their real interests as servants of the Government, and have constantly used their influence for peace and conciliation between all the various interests and classes affected by the Decree.

Considering it, therefore, as a whole, the Decree has, I think, so far realized the main objects with which it was framed. It has affirmed, and is fast bringing home to the population of the islands the principle for which the House of Commons has contended, of the non-recognition of slavery, or compulsory service based on the ownership

of one man by another, as an institution upheld by the law. By providing compensation for vested rights, guaranteed by an earlier legal system, it has proved to the Arabs that the Government, while strong enough if it pleased to trample on those rights, was desirous of dealing with them in a spirit of equity, and has thus inspired them with a sense of confidence in our justice, and removed, or at least mitigated, feelings of bitterness or resentment on the part of the subject race, which, though impotent for present practical harm, might, nevertheless, have been pregnant with future danger. The checks which its procedure has imposed on precipitate and universal emancipation have often afforded to slaves and masters alike an opportunity of maturely considering, in a manner which they might not otherwise have been enabled to do, the new situation created by it, and in many cases of readjusting their relations on a sounder foundation without irremediably severing old ties to the detriment of the true interests of both classes. If in some instances it has entailed, as any such radical social change could scarcely fail to do, some suffering and loss to landowners, and in others has led to local outbreaks of licence and crime, such instances have been fewer than would probably have been the case if the change had not been guided and controlled by experienced native authorities, bent on rendering it as gradual and as painless as possible. It has been, in fact, a reform, but a conservative and cautious reform, of far-reaching ultimate consequences rather than of striking immediate effects, and as such, however unsatisfactory to impatient extremists, is, I venture to submit, in substantial harmony with the genius of the best and wisest English legislation.

I have asked the Zanzibar Government to supply me with monthly statistical Returns which shall illustrate the continuous working of the Decree, and enable me from time to time to report its further developments to your Lordship.

No. 30.

Foreign Office to British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

Sir, *Foreign Office, May* 17, 1898.

I AM directed by the Marquess of Salisbury to transmit to you an extract from a despatch from Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General at Zanzibar relating to a reproduction of a photograph which appeared in one of the publications of the Anti-Slavery Society.

The despatch from which this passage has been taken will eventually be laid before Parliament.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANCIS BERTIE.

Inclosure in No. 30.

Sir A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.

(Extract.) *Mombasa, March* 23, 1898.

THE Anti-Slavery Society have circulated throughout England a photograph of slaves in chains under the heading "A group of Slaves under the British flag at Zanzibar," with a text annexed to it from Ecclesiastes about oppression. Now this photograph is a photograph of slaves, or, possibly, criminals, in chains, not at Zanzibar, but in German East Africa, and the soldier in charge of the slaves is a German soldier wearing the German uniform. The photograph was, in fact, taken not at Zanzibar, but at Dar-es-Salam.

I think it would be only just that the attention of the Anti-Slavery Society should be called to the fact that they should, in fairness to the Zanzibar Government, explain their mistake to the readers of their publications, and in future, if they still wish this picture to appear in them, should substitute the words "Dar-es-Salam" for "Zanzibar," and "slavery under the German" for "slavery under the British flag."

No. 31.

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to Foreign Office.—(Received June 8.)

Sir, *55, New Broad Street, London, June* , 1898.

OUR President, Mr. Arthur Pease, M.P., has asked me to send you an explanation of our reasons for publishing a photograph of "Slaves in chains, guarded by a native askari or soldier," under the title "Slavery in Zanzibar." These were circulated in the "Anti-Slavery Reporter" for August and September 1896, but I have no knowledge of any circulation of such photograph under the heading "Group of Slaves under the British flag at Zanzibar." If such a heading has been seen by any of your officials in Zanzibar, it can only have been an advance proof of the "Reporter," forwarded to save the mail, and afterwards changed in our full edition, as you will see by the inclosed number of that journal. I am very sorry if we have under a misapprehension used a photograph taken in German East Africa, as stated in the extract forwarded to me by Mr. Bertie on the 17th May last.

My explanation of this publication is that the photograph itself had previously been published in the "Illustrated London News" of the 5th September, 1896, p. 300, in an article entitled "The Crisis at Zanzibar" (copy inclosed), and the subscription to the plate itself is: "Slaves in chains, guarded by native askari or soldier." After its publication in the "Illustrated London News" this Society purchased the block from Nops Electrotype Agency, on the understanding that there was no copyright, and, therefore, the "Illustrated London News" is not mentioned in the "Anti-Slavery Reporter," although they are responsible for giving this illustration to the world, and it was published by us in perfect good faith, without the slightest idea that it could possibly refer to slaves in the German territory. I shall, of course, in our next edition, publish the statement made by Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General at Zanzibar, with the explanation given to you as above, and I regret that any such mistake should have occurred.

As the circulation of the "Anti-Slavery Reporter" is considerably less than 2,000, whilst that of the "Illustrated London News" must be immensely over that figure, you may, perhaps, think it worth while to inquire of the Manager where he obtained this photograph, evidently purporting, by the letter-press, to have been taken in Zanzibar.

I think I may also state that, in December 1896, I had an interesting interview of two hours' duration, at my own house, with Sir Arthur Hardinge, when the above-named copy of the "Reporter" was lying on the table, and he made no objection to the photograph on the cover.

Trusting that this explanation will show that this Society has published the illustration without the smallest intention of deceiving the public or the Government, I have, &c.

(Signed) CHAS. H. ALLEN, *Secretary.*

No. 32.

Foreign Office to British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

Sir, *Foreign Office, June* 8, 1898.

I HAVE received your letter of explanation concerning the circumstances under which a photograph of "slaves in chains, guarded by a native askari or soldier," was published in the "Anti-Slavery Reporter" for August and September 1896. I gather from this that the photograph in question was purchased by the Society which you represent from an agency, into whose possession it appears to have passed after publication in the "Illustrated London News" of the 5th September, 1896, of which you have forwarded me a copy. In this newspaper I observe that while the photograph appeared as one of several illustrations to an article entitled the "Crisis at Zanzibar," there was nothing in the title attached to it—viz., "Slaves in chains, guarded by native askari or soldier"—to indicate that the photograph had been taken in the islands or was illustrative of slavery as practised there.

When, therefore, you make the proposal that I should inquire of the manager of the "Illustrated London News" where he procured the photograph in the first place, the reflection is suggested that such an inquiry would have emanated with

greater propriety from yourself in the year 1896 at the time that the Anti-Slavery Society originally purchased the picture for use in its own publications.

Concerning the latter, I am further compelled to call your attention to a matter which has evidently escaped your recollection. You explain that, although the photograph in question was circulated in the "Anti-Slavery Reporter" for August and September 1896, you have no knowledge of any circulation of such photograph under the heading "Group of slaves under the British flag at Zanzibar." I have, however, in my possession a leaflet, entitled "Slaves in Zanzibar and Pemba (after the issue of the Abolition Decree in April 1897)." This leaflet on its first three pages contains a photograph and several extracts from letters by Mr. Theodore Burtt, a missionary in Pemba, making a series of statements which it was my duty to expose in Parliament, and which will be refuted in detail in the forthcoming Parliamentary Blue Book. At the bottom of the third page the responsibility for the leaflet is announced in a paragraph which runs as follows:—

"Subscriptions and donations will be gratefully received by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which is urgently in need of funds to carry on its work. Cheques, &c., may be forwarded to Chas. H. Allen, Secretary, 55, New Broad Street, E.C. October 1897."

On the fourth and last page of the publication thus officially certified appears the photograph of the chained slaves in question (now known to have been taken in German territory in East Africa), with the heading "A group of slaves under the British flag in Zanzibar," with the sub-title "Slavery in Zanzibar in 1896," and with an appropriate quotation from Ecclesiastes.

The Anti-Slavery Society would appear, therefore, unless this leaflet be apocryphal, to have been dissatisfied with the inconsiderable circulation which, as you have informed me, the photograph could only have attained had its publication been confined to the "Anti-Slavery Reporter," and to have taken steps through its Secretary a full year after the original publication to insure its reproduction and dissemination in a wider and more invidious form.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE N. CURZON.

No. 33.

Sir A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(*Received June* 28.)

(Extract) *Zanzibar, June* 6, 1898.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, in continuation of my despatch of the 23rd April last, a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Acting Vice-Consul at Chaki-Chaki, from which your Lordship will observe that the emancipation of slaves under the Decree abolishing the status of slavery is proceeding with greatly increased rapidity in Pemba.

Mr. Alexander likewise informs me that there has been a marked increase in Zanzibar during the last few weeks in the number of applicants for freedom.

Inclosure in No. 33.

Mr. Edib to Sir A. Hardinge.

Sir, *British Vice-Consulate, Pemba, June* 1, 1898.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that since your last visit in April nothing of great importance has taken place to report upon, but a few words as to the progress of the slavery question may be applicable.

Owing to the fact that every slave in this island is now aware that slavery no longer exists, the number of slaves coming in daily to obtain their freedom has been considerably increased, and the amount of crime, chiefly that of theft, has been also increased in proportion.

During the last few days, hundreds of slaves wanting their freedom crowded the office of his Highness' Commissioner, and blocked the road outside, so that he found it necessary at last to engage a number of policemen in order to keep the road clear for traffic.

In a recent visit of the Lewali to me, he said that a great number of slaves have already left their masters, and did not care to call at the Government Office for their freedom papers, knowing that their masters have lost their former control over them, and those remaining on the Arab plantations, though very few in number, do not care either to be freed or to leave their masters, as they have been always well treated by the latter, and are happily settled in their present homes, so that they do not care for any change effected in their condition of domestic life.

With regard to the matter of compensation, Archdeacon Farler informed me that the Liwali and himself made a rule to free twenty slaves per day, Sundays and Fridays excepted, and that they are taking due notice of every case where compensation is to be paid, with a view to future settlement.

I have, &c.

(Signed) R. G. EDIB, *Her Britannic Majesty's Acting Vice-Consul, Pemba.*

No. 34.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir A. Hardinge.

Sir, *Foreign Office, June* 29, 1898.

DURING the course of the year which has elapsed since the publication of the Sultan's Decree of the 3rd April, 1897, for the abolition of the legal status of slavery in the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, I have received several communications from you with regard to the measures that have been taken for the proper execution of the Decree in those portions of His Highness' dominions. The Report of Mr. O'Sullivan, Her Majesty's Vice-Consul in Pemba, which has been published as a Parliamentary Paper, contains much useful information as to the effects of the Decree during the first six months of its operation in that island. Mr. Farler, who was appointed Commissioner of the Zanzibar Government for the supervision of the Decree in Pemba, has from time to time forwarded statements through you of the steps that have been taken by him in discharge of the duties of his post. More recently you have transmitted to me special Reports drawn up by that gentleman and by Mr. Last, his colleague in the Island of Zanzibar, at the end of January last, with a covering communication from Sir Lloyd Mathews, First Minister of the Sultan of Zanzibar. Finally, in a despatch dated the 23rd April last, you have furnished me with your own observations, surveying the entire first year of the execution of the Decree, and summarizing the results which have so far been obtained. In these various communications, which contain much information of considerable value, Her Majesty's Government feel that they possess material for forming an opinion as to the measure of success which has so far attended the important step of last year, and as to the justice of the criticisms with which, in various quarters, its operation has been assailed.

A reference to my despatch of the 10th February, 1897, which contained the instructions upon which you were to act, would be scarcely necessary, were it not that misapprehension appears subsequently to have grown up in some quarters with regard to the essential features of the scheme therein recommended by Her Majesty's Government.

In view of that misapprehension, and inasmuch as the results even of a single year's proceedings can only be fairly estimated in strict relation to the policy in pursuance of which those proceedings have been undertaken, it may be well, in passing, to recapitulate the essential features of the scheme of 1897, and the grounds for their adoption.

We were dealing with a Moslem population, in which the Sultan and the most influential class were of Arab race. The sanctions of the Mahommedan religion, joined to the extreme antiquity of the institution of slavery throughout the East, made the task of dealing with it difficult and to some extent hazardous. Similar obstacles were in former years opposed to any reform of the kind in the case of India. The Indian legislators met the difficulty, in the case of British territory, by measures which, without interfering with the social customs of the people, withdrew from the status of slavery the sanction and assistance of the law. In the protected States, which were not British territory, and therefore did not come under British legislation, no change was made; except in so far as the Slave Trade was concerned. The legal sanction of slavery remained where it was before. Zanzibar, in like manner, is not British territory, but is a protected State, in which the executive and judicial administration continue to be intrusted in the main to

the hands of native officials. Nevertheless, Her Majesty's Government came to the conclusion that it was open to them to take a step notably in advance of that which was taken in India in dealing with slavery. Zanzibar, though a protected State, was treated, not as the protected States of India have been and are still treated, but as British Indian territory directly subject to the Crown is treated. As in that territory, the legal status of slavery has been formally abolished.

They purposely confined the operation of the Decree to the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, and did not extend it at the same time to the mainland dominions of the Sultan, because the conditions both of servile tenure and of the slave population in the latter differ materially from, and call less urgently for relief than, those upon the islands; and because the risk of unforeseen consequences was even more considerable in a community but recently included in the British Protectorate, and barely recovered from the shock of internal convulsion.

Many circumstances have combined in recent years to agitate and alarm the Moslem inhabitants of North-Eastern Africa; and the task of suppressing armed resistance, if it should occur, would be much more formidable on the mainland than in the islands.

Her Majesty's Government sanctioned the execution of the Decree upon the islands by the Arab officials of the Sultan, believing that in this way they were more likely to conciliate native respect and to win popular acceptance, while greater economy would also be assured, than by introducing an elaborate and highly paid mechanism of foreign origin; and feeling confident that the supervision of the Native Courts by British Commissioners of tried experience and well-known sympathy with the natives, and, lastly, by Sir Lloyd Mathews and yourself, would be a sufficient security against lack of vigilance or prejudice.

In the Act of Parliament (3 & 4 Wm. IV, cap. 85) which imposed on the Government of India the duty of extinguishing slavery in British territory, it is expressly provided that due regard should be paid "to the laws of marriage and the rights and authorities of fathers and heads of families."

The Sultan of Zanzibar, in his message to you of the 14th November, 1896, earnestly deprecated any interference with the status of concubines, pointing out that under the Mahommedan law they are "practically wives and mothers of their masters' children, sharing equal rights with the children of Arab mothers." He added that "in allowing concubines to leave their masters, Arab homes would be broken up;" and he begged Her Majesty's Government to "keep the Arab homes intact, and to save his people from a fate to which death would almost be preferable." Her Majesty's Government could not fail to pay attention to this appeal, feeling that to overthrow the authority of heads of families, on the pretence that such restraint is slavery, would have been to give a violent shock to the religious and traditional feelings of the people.

Her Majesty's Government recommended the granting of compensation in cases where the legal ownership of the freed slave and damage accruing to the owner from the loss of his service could be established to the satisfaction of a competent Court, in view of the solemn promise given by the then Sultan on the 1st August, 1890, with the sanction of the British Agent. This course appeared to be demanded no less by the obligations of honour than by considerations of policy.

The experience of the past year has, on the whole, confirmed the judgment of Her Majesty's Government in these respects; and they have no intention of urging any departure from the main lines of the policy which, at their instance, the Zanzibar Government adopted in 1897. In again drawing attention to its cardinal features, I am only anxious to relieve from the possibility of renewed misunderstanding the more detailed examination to which I now turn.

In the first place, I desire to place on record the appreciation entertained by Her Majesty's Government of the manner in which the Sultan, both by authority and by personal example, has lent his assistance to the proper carrying out of a policy that must, at the outset, have been somewhat distasteful to himself and to his surroundings. The steps taken by him to publish and proclaim the Decree, to familiarize the leading Arabs with its provisions, and to secure their co-operation in its administration, appear to have been attended with excellent results; whilst his action in substituting conditions of paid labour under contract with his own slaves for the servile status in which they were previously employed set an example at an early and important juncture which has been wisely followed by many of his leading subjects, and which would seem to be capable of much further extension. You should communicate to His Highness the favourable opinion of Her Majesty's Government as to these proceedings, and encourage him to a continuance of similar activity in the future.

The Reports presented by the British authorities in the service of the Sultan

indicate an equal anxiety on their part to carry out, with fidelity and discretion, the terms of the Decree. Sir Lloyd Mathews has voluntarily accepted no small addition to the onerous labours of his position, in undertaking the assessment of compensation in cases where the Courts had decided upon its justice; and although Her Majesty's Government are not acquainted, from the papers now before them, with the exact principles upon which this has been calculated—a point upon which they would be glad to receive further information; and although they observe that it has ranged between widely opposite extremes, they feel assured that the great local knowledge of Sir Lloyd Mathews will have resulted in decisions more just than any other system would be likely to have secured. Mr. Last and Mr. Farler, the Commissioners appointed by the Zanzibar Government, appear to have entirely merited the confidence which was reposed in them; and Her Majesty's Government regret the attempts, resulting no doubt from ignorance rather than from any preconceived purpose, which appear to have been made to weaken Mr. Farler's position and to depreciate his services in the Island of Pemba. It would be ungenerous not to recognize in the same context that the Walis, who were appointed by the Sultan to preside over the Native Courts, appear, by a consensus of the authorities whose opinion I have received, to have acted with fairness in a position that was not wanting in delicacy or difficulty. This disposition on their part should receive every encouragement, the success of the scheme depending in the main upon the confidence entertained by master and slave alike in the rectitude of the judiciary constituted for the purpose of settling their claims. Nor should any opportunity be missed by the British authorities of stimulating the diligence of the Walis in cases which might otherwise escape their notice.

The feature in the present situation that first challenges attention is the number of the persons who have, during the past year, either applied for and received their freedom, or have voluntarily accepted fresh conditions of service with their former masters. I gather from your report that there have been in the two islands 2,000 of the former, and 2,278 of the latter. These totals, while satisfactory in comparison with the scanty figures that were returned during the first few months of the operation of the Decree, and that excited unfavourable, though, perhaps, premature, comment in this country, may, at first sight, be considered small in proportion to the entire slave population of the two islands. The reports, however, that have been submitted to me enable a fair judgment to be formed as to the rate of progress that has been attained; and the following conclusions may be drawn from them.

It was at first widely alleged that the slaves were unaware, and had even been left intentionally in ignorance, of the existence and terms of the Decree of the 6th April, 1897. There appears to be no foundation for this charge. The facts reported in the papers which will be presented to Parliament convince me that every reasonable measure has been adopted for securing the universal dissemination of the requisite knowledge; and that, with the exception of a few outlying portions of the population who are difficult of access, there are none, or next to none, of the subjects of the Sultan on the two islands to whom the substance of the new Decree is not sufficiently known to provoke action on their part should they be so inclined. It is not to ignorance that any backwardness of movement can fairly be ascribed.

It has also been asserted that the slaves, from previous experience of the Arab authorities, and from knowledge of their supposed sympathies, have been afraid to apply to the Courts for recognition of their freedom. There is no inherent improbability in such a state of mind in the earlier stages of emancipation, and it may be that at the start such apprehensions in some cases exercised a deterrent effect. Such a feeling would probably be likely to wear away in proportion as it was proved by experience to be unreasonable or premature, and in the widely-reported attitude of independence, amounting in many cases to unruliness and turbulence, on the part of the newly-freed slaves, I do not find any suggestion of its protracted continuance. Simultaneously, the energetic action of the Sultan's Commissioners and the co-operation of Her Majesty's Consular authorities in both islands in assisting the slaves to a knowledge, and, where called upon, to the vindication of their rights, have done much to mitigate the suspicions of a naturally timid race, and may be expected, as time passes, to remove the last vestiges of a fear for which there is, in the facts of the case, no justification.

It is doubtless, in the main, due to the character of the slave population and to the contentment of a large proportion of their number with the conditions of their existing lot that the more rapid progress expected in some quarters has not been attained. A community which has been for long enslaved, and which has grown up in a social environment where servitude is not merely an immemorial custom, but enjoys the sanction of a religious law, is equally indifferent to the disgrace of the servile status and

to the attractions of freedom. It is clear from the accounts submitted to me, that many of the slaves neither desire nor are willing to take active steps for the assertion of their liberty. This condition of mind is partly attributable to a natural indolence which may be expected in time to diminish, as the consciousness of the range and responsibilities of a free life becomes more common; but it no doubt finds also a powerful ally in the actual circumstances of the slaves, a fact which throws a favourable light on the manner in which the servile relationship has evidently been interpreted in recent years in the vast majority of cases in the two islands. The bulk of the slaves are manifestly attached to the soil upon which they and their families have been brought up, and find no hardship in the condition under which, in return for their labour, they are fed and housed, and are supported when sick or incapable. This state of feeling will exist more especially among the two extremes of age, the very old and the very young; but even among those in the prime of life the security of an assured livelihood would appear in a large number of cases to be preferred to the hazards of personal initiative and free competition.

At the same time an acquiescence, however reasonable or widespread, in the *status quo*, would not justify any diminution in the effort to supersede, over as large an area as possible, the conditions of servile labour by those of free labour for a wage. I am glad to learn that the precedent established by the Sultan in this particular is being increasingly followed; and the features of the revised contracts as reported to me—under which the freed slave becomes a labourer enjoying an allotment of no mean size in return, working for his master only twenty-four hours in the week, and receiving extra pay for extra work—appear to be both just and benevolent. Her Majesty's Government hope for a continuous development, where the conditions are suitable, of this system.

In another respect the promulgation of the Decree has been attended with the most advantageous results. Though cruelty was probably not common in the previous relations between master and slave, it was liable in remote localities to be practised with insufficient fear of detection, while the slave was constantly exposed to the caprice or the indifference of a master whose rights were enforced by the law. A consensus of opinion testifies to the fact that cases of beating and inhumanity have now almost ceased to occur, and that a much greater indulgence prevails in the treatment of domestic servants and of the labouring classes at large. This change has been accompanied by corresponding improvements in prison and sanitary administration, notably in the towns of the Island of Pemba, where they were most needed, as detailed in the Reports of Mr. Vice-Consul O'Sullivan. That even a single year's working of the Decree has resulted in a very sensible improvement in the condition of the population throughout the islands seems to be beyond question.

For these reasons, Her Majesty's Government are not disposed to share the disappointment that has been expressed in some quarters as to the relatively slow rate of progress that is said to have been made. A readjustment, rather than a violent revolution, in the social economy of the islands has always been their object; and the information now before them leads them to think that this is in course of being achieved. They also recognize, in the arguments concurrently though independently employed by Mr. Last and Mr. Farler, a powerful plea, in the interest of both masters and men, for the prosecution of a moderate rather than a precipitate advance in the future.

An additional reason in favour of gradual methods and the avoidance of precipitate action may be found in the statistics as regards drunkenness, vagrancy, and theft, which are included in your Report and in the information concerning the tendency to idleness of the freed slaves, to which the Commissioners have drawn attention. Though the number of these cases may not be regarded with any surprise by those who had, from local experience, awaited with some apprehension the prospect of a sudden relaxation of the bonds of compulsory toil, it is sufficient to show that any too sudden letting loose of large numbers of men might be attended with difficulties with which the local police would find it hard to cope. The firm application of the vagrancy laws, and the extension, where possible, of Government works for the unemployed, may, however, enable the Sultan's Ministers to deal with any such movement as appears likely, under present circumstances, to occur.

I join with you in deprecating the action taken by the local representative of the Friends' Mission at Banani in Pemba. The evidence which has been furnished in disproof of the charges brought forward by him shows conclusively that those charges were made without sufficient care or inquiry into the facts. The ignorance or the impulsiveness of individual conduct should not, however, permanently detract from the services which such Missions, if properly conducted, are capable of rendering both to

the Government and to the cause which, equally with the Government, they have at heart. It is further to be hoped that the complete refutation of statements too easily accepted and reproduced by important Associations in this country, which these papers record, may not be without effect in producing a more cautious and dispassionate attitude on the part of the representative persons and organs of the Anti-Slavery movement in the future.

A few points remain to be noticed in connection with the local administration of the Decree. I gather that in the earlier stages compensation claims, wherever originated, were commonly referred to the decision of Sir Lloyd Mathews at Zanzibar, but that the delays and difficulties of this procedure have led to a subdivision of labour. It is undoubtedly to be desired that each case should, as far as possible, be settled on the spot; and I approve of the decision by which full power of adjudicating upon and settling Pemba cases has been given to the Walis in that island.

Nevertheless, there appears to be a considerable congestion of undecided cases, particularly on the latter island, while a large number of freed slaves who have not yet received their papers of freedom are employed upon the Government plantation at Tundawa. There are probably compensating advantages in the delay thus caused, both to the masters and the men, as indicated in your Report. But I should be glad if you would further consider the matter, in conjunction with the officials of the Sultan, and report to me as to any measures that may be found desirable to secure a reasonable acceleration in the final decision of cases already opened.

The registration of slaves applying for freedom has been made the subject of adverse comment, as imposing an additional delay to the achievement of complete liberty. I understand, however, that the examination of the applicant, and the entry of particulars concerning his or her appearance, are necessary precautions, on the one hand, to prevent the chance of collusion and personation; on the other hand, to determine the amount of compensation, if any, that shall be subsequently awarded. Some such safeguards would appear to be desirable to prevent fraud and to insure justice, but they should be as few and as simple as possible, and you should impress upon the Sultan's Ministers the importance of divesting the machinery of emancipation of any undue complexity or length.

Upon the question of the cost of compensation, and the ultimate charge in connection therewith that is likely to be imposed upon the Zanzibar Government, I do not feel that Her Majesty's Government are in the possession of sufficient data to enable them to arrive at a definite opinion. On the one hand, the initial expenses might be expected to be larger in the first year than at a later period. On the other hand, it seems to be anticipated that the attitude of the Friends' Mission in the Island of Pemba may, by precipitating claims for freedom on the part of the slaves, and consequently for compensation on the part of the masters, impose a heavier burden upon the Government in the near future. The experience of the forthcoming year will enable a more reliable judgment to be formed upon this point, and will place Her Majesty's Government in a better position for deciding whether any, and if so what, assistance shall be tendered by them to the Government of the Sultan.

In conclusion, while I feel that it is as yet too early to pronounce upon the ultimate effect that the abolition of the legal status may have upon the cultivation of the clove plantations and upon the general prosperity of the islands, there seems to be good ground for the hope that a measure, already attended with palpable benefit to the slave, may in time produce a corresponding reinvigoration in the character and aptitudes of the master. He will at first be very susceptible of the difficulty of accommodating himself to the conditions of a situation both novel and financially exacting, and in some cases it is to be feared that cultivation may be affected, and that individuals, already impecunious or weighed down with burdens of debt, may suffer.

There will be inevitable cases of hardship at both ends of the scale, among masters, as there have previously been among slaves, and any suggestions for the consideration of the interests of the former will be equally acceptable with those which have been invited for facilitating the redemption of the latter.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

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Shri Brihad Bhartiya Samaj

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